

No. A-_____

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

DONALD J. TRUMP, ET AL., APPLICANTS

v.

STATE OF HAWAII, ET AL.

APPLICATION FOR STAY PENDING APPEAL
TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT

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PARTIES TO THE PROCEEDING

The applicants (defendants-appellants below) are Donald J. Trump, in his official capacity as President of the United States; the Department of Homeland Security; the Department of State; John F. Kelly, in his official capacity as Secretary of Homeland Security; Rex W. Tillerson, in his official capacity as Secretary of State; and the United States of America.

The respondents (plaintiffs-appellees below) are the State of Hawaii and Dr. Ismail Elshikh.

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Pursuant to this Court's Rule 23 and the All Writs Act, 28 U.S.C. 1651, the Acting Solicitor General, on behalf of applicants President Donald J. Trump, et al., respectfully applies for a stay of the preliminary injunction issued by the United States District Court for the District of Hawaii, pending the consideration and disposition of the government's appeal from that injunction to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit and, if the court of appeals affirms the injunction, pending the filing and disposition of a petition for a writ of certiorari and any further proceedings in this Court.

The Constitution and Acts of Congress confer on the President broad authority to prevent aliens abroad from entering this country when he deems it in the Nation's interest. Exercising that

authority, and after consulting with the Secretaries of State and Homeland Security and the Attorney General, the President issued Executive Order No. 13,780, 82 Fed. Reg. 13,209 (Mar. 9, 2017) (Order). Section 2 of that Order directs a worldwide review of the visa-adjudication process, and while that review is ongoing, Section 2(c) suspends for 90 days the entry of foreign nationals from six countries that sponsor or shelter terrorism (Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen), subject to case-by-case waivers. The President chose those countries for two reasons: Congress and the Executive previously had identified them as presenting heightened terrorism-related risks, and the President made the national-security judgment that conditions in those countries may render them unable or unwilling to provide our government with information needed to detect possible threats.

Section 6 of the Order directs a similar review of the U.S. Refugee Admission Program (Refugee Program), suspends for 120 days adjudication of refugee applications and travel under the Refugee Program for aliens from any country, and reduces the maximum number of refugees who may be admitted in Fiscal Year 2017. The Order explains that "[t]errorist groups have sought to infiltrate several nations through refugee programs," and "individuals who first entered the country as refugees" have "been convicted of terrorism-related crimes in the United States." Order § 1(b)(iii) and (h).

In another suit challenging the Order, the United States District Court for the District of Maryland entered a global injunction barring implementation of Section 2(c)'s temporary suspension of entry of nationals from the six designated countries, concluding that it likely violates the Establishment Clause. IRAP v. Trump, No. 17-361, 2017 WL 1018235 (Mar. 16, 2017). The government immediately appealed and sought a stay. On May 25, 2017, the Fourth Circuit, sitting en banc, affirmed that injunction in principal part over three separate dissents and denied a stay. IRAP v. Trump, No. 17-1351, 2017 WL 2273306. The government is today filing a petition for a writ of certiorari seeking review of that decision, as well as an application for a stay of that preliminary injunction pending disposition of the petition.

The district court in this separate suit challenging the Order went even further. On the basis of alleged injury to a single individual (Dr. Ismail Elshikh) and the State of Hawaii (collectively respondents), the district court preliminarily enjoined all of Sections 2 and 6 of the Order. Thus, in addition to Section 2(c)'s temporary suspension of entry of nationals of six countries, the district court's injunction here also enjoins (1) the temporary suspension of the Refugee Program, (2) the provision reducing the maximum number of refugees who may be admitted in Fiscal Year 2017, and (3) multiple provisions of Sections 2 and 6 that address only internal and diplomatic

governmental activities, such as agency reviews of existing screening and vetting protocols. Respondents barely mentioned any of these provisions in seeking to restrain the Order.

In issuing its sweeping injunction, the district court did not apply the test in Kleindienst v. Mandel, 408 U.S. 753 (1972), for challenges to the denial of entry to aliens from outside the United States, and ask whether the President's national-security judgment is "a facially legitimate and bona fide reason" for Sections 2 and 6. Id. at 770. The court instead declined to apply Mandel's test, holding that the entire Order likely violates the Establishment Clause under case law from domestic contexts. The court did so not because the Order refers to, or distinguishes on the basis of, religion: Sections 2 and 6 apply to all nationals of the listed countries, and all refugees from any country, regardless of anyone's religion. The court reasoned instead that the Order is driven by religious animus. It based that conclusion largely on statements the President made as a political candidate in 2015 and 2016, before he took the oath to uphold the Constitution, formed an Administration, and consulted with Cabinet Members charged with keeping this Nation safe.

The government has appealed the district court's injunction to the Ninth Circuit and sought a stay pending appeal. After expedited briefing, a panel of that court heard oral argument on May 15, 2017. The Ninth Circuit has not yet ruled on the stay

request or on the merits. In light of the Fourth Circuit's decision upholding the IRAP court's injunction against Section 2(c) and denying a stay, the government respectfully requests a stay of the Hawaii court's injunction against Sections 2 and 6 pending appeal in the Ninth Circuit. Unless the injunction in this case is stayed, Section 2(c) of the Order will remain inoperative even if this Court grants a stay in IRAP pending its disposition of the government's petition for a writ of certiorari.

All of the relevant factors strongly support a stay of the injunction here. See San Diegans for the Mt. Soledad Nat'l War Mem'l v. Paulson, 548 U.S. 1301, 1302 (2006) (Kennedy, J., in chambers). First, if the Ninth Circuit upholds the Hawaii court's injunction, there is a reasonable probability that this Court will grant certiorari. The injunction nullifies a formal national-security directive of the President -- including provisions that affect only internal and diplomatic activities of government agencies -- on the basis that the President purportedly acted with religious animus. Second, there is more than a fair prospect that the Court will vacate the injunction because respondents' claims are neither justiciable nor meritorious. Third, preventing the President from effectuating his national-security judgment will continue to cause irreparable harm to the interests of the government and the public. At a minimum, the injunction -- which bars enforcement of Sections 2 and 6 worldwide -- should be stayed

to the extent that it goes beyond addressing the entry of Dr. Elshikh's mother-in-law. See United States Dep't of Def. v. Meinhold, 510 U.S. 939 (1993).

For these reasons, the government respectfully requests that this Court enter a stay pending the government's appeal. In addition, the Court may construe this application as a petition for a writ of certiorari before judgment, see, e.g., Purcell v. Gonzalez, 549 U.S. 1, 2 (2006) (per curiam), and grant the petition along with the petition for a writ of certiorari in IRAP, while staying the injunction pending a final disposition.¹

STATEMENT

1. The Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), 8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq., governs admission of aliens into the United States. Admission normally requires a valid visa or other valid travel document. See 8 U.S.C. 1181, 1182(a)(7)(A)(i) and (B)(i)(II), 1203. The process of applying for a visa typically includes an in-person interview and results in a decision by a State Department consular officer. 8 U.S.C. 1201(a)(1), 1202(h), 1204; 22 C.F.R. 42.62. Although a visa often is necessary for admission, it does

¹ Rule 23.3 of this Court provides that, "[e]xcept in the most extraordinary circumstances, an application for a stay will not be entertained unless the relief requested was first sought" in the court below. The government has requested the relief sought here -- a stay of the Hawaii district court's injunction -- from the court of appeals, but that court has not yet ruled on the government's stay motion. Given the need for a stay in this case in light of the Fourth Circuit's decision in IRAP, "the relief sought is not available from any other court or judge." Ibid.

not guarantee admission; the alien still must be found admissible upon arriving at a port of entry. 8 U.S.C. 1201(h), 1225(a).

Congress has also created a Visa Waiver Program, enabling nationals of certain countries to seek temporary admission without a visa. 8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(7)(B)(iv); 8 U.S.C. 1187 (2012 & Supp. III 2015). In 2015, Congress excluded from travel under that Program aliens who are dual nationals of or recent visitors to Iraq or Syria -- where "[t]he Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant * * * maintain[s] a formidable force" -- and nationals of and recent visitors to countries designated by the Secretary of State as state sponsors of terrorism (Iran, Sudan, and Syria).² Congress also authorized the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to designate additional countries of concern, considering whether a country is a "safe haven for terrorists," "whether a foreign terrorist organization has a significant presence" in it, and "whether the presence of an alien in the country * * * increases the likelihood that the alien is a credible threat to" U.S. national security. 8 U.S.C. 1187(a)(12)(D)(i) and (ii) (Supp. III 2015). Applying those criteria, in 2016, DHS excluded recent visitors to Libya, Somalia, and Yemen from travel under the Program.³

² U.S. Dep't of State, Country Reports on Terrorism 2015, at 6, 299-302 (June 2016), <https://goo.gl/40GmOS>; see 8 U.S.C. 1187(a)(12)(A)(i) and (ii) (Supp. III 2015).

³ DHS, DHS Announces Further Travel Restrictions for the Visa Waiver Program (Feb. 18, 2016), <https://goo.gl/OXTqb5>.

Separately, the Refugee Program allows aliens who fear persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, or certain other grounds to seek admission. 8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(42), 1157. Refugees are screened for eligibility and admissibility abroad; if approved, they may be admitted without a visa. 8 U.S.C. 1157(c)(1), 1181(c). Congress authorized the President to determine the maximum number of refugees to be admitted each fiscal year. 8 U.S.C. 1157(a)(2) and (3).

Congress also has accorded the Executive broad discretion to suspend or restrict the entry of aliens. Section 1182(f) provides:

Whenever the President finds that the entry of any aliens or of any class of aliens into the United States would be detrimental to the interests of the United States, he may * * * for such period as he shall deem necessary, suspend the entry of all aliens or any class of aliens as immigrants or nonimmigrants, or impose on the entry of aliens any restrictions he may deem to be appropriate.

8 U.S.C. 1182(f). Section 1185(a)(1) further grants the President broad authority to adopt "reasonable rules, regulations, and orders" governing entry of aliens, "subject to such limitations and exceptions as [he] may prescribe." 8 U.S.C. 1185(a)(1).

2. On January 27, 2017, the President issued Executive Order No. 13,769, 82 Fed. Reg. 8977 (Feb. 1, 2017) (January Order). It directed the Secretaries of Homeland Security and State to assess current screening procedures to determine whether they are sufficient to detect individuals seeking to enter this country to do it harm. Id. § 3(a) and (b). While that review was ongoing,

the January Order suspended for 90 days entry of foreign nationals of the seven countries already identified as posing heightened terrorism-related concerns in the context of the Visa Waiver Program, subject to case-by-case exceptions. Id. § 3(c) and (g). The January Order similarly directed a review of the Refugee Program, and, pending that review, suspended entry under that Program for 120 days, subject to case-by-case waivers. Id. § 5(a). It also suspended admission of Syrian refugees indefinitely and directed agencies to prioritize refugee claims of religious persecution if the religion was "a minority religion in the individual's country of nationality." Id. § 5(b) and (c).

The January Order was challenged in multiple courts. On February 3, 2017, a district court in Washington enjoined enforcement nationwide of the temporary entry suspension and certain refugee provisions. Washington v. Trump, No. 17-141, 2017 WL 462040 (W.D. Wash.). On February 9, 2017, a Ninth Circuit panel declined to stay that injunction pending appeal. Washington v. Trump, 847 F.3d 1151 (per curiam). While acknowledging that the injunction may have been "overbroad," the court declined to narrow it, concluding that "[t]he political branches are far better equipped" to do so. Id. at 1166, 1167.

3. Responding to the Ninth Circuit's decision, on March 6, 2017 -- in accordance with the recommendation of the Attorney General and Secretary of Homeland Security -- the President issued

the current Order, with an effective date of March 16, 2017.⁴ The Order revokes the January Order, replacing it with significantly revised provisions that address the Ninth Circuit's concerns. Order § 13. At issue here are Sections 2 and 6 of the Order.

a. Section 2(c) temporarily suspends entry of certain nationals from six countries: Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. The temporary suspension's explicit purpose is to enable the President -- based on the recommendation of the Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Director of National Intelligence -- to assess whether current screening and vetting procedures are adequate to detect terrorists seeking to infiltrate the Nation. Order § 1(f). Each of the six countries "is a state sponsor of terrorism, has been significantly compromised by terrorist organizations, or contains active conflict zones." Id. § 1(b)(i) and (d). The Order details the circumstances in each country that give rise to "heightened risks" of terrorism and also "diminish[]" each "foreign government's willingness or ability to share or validate

⁴ Order § 14; Letter from Jefferson B. Sessions III, Att'y Gen., & John Francis Kelly, Sec'y of Homeland Sec., to President Donald J. Trump (Mar. 6, 2017), <https://goo.gl/H69g8I>.

important information about individuals" needed to screen them properly. Id. § 1(d) and (e).⁵

The Order "suspend[s] for 90 days" the "entry into the United States of nationals of" those six countries. Order § 2(c). Addressing concerns the Ninth Circuit raised, however, the Order clarifies that the suspension applies only to aliens who (1) are outside the United States on the Order's effective date, (2) do not have a valid visa on that date, and (3) did not have a valid visa on the effective date of the January Order. Id. § 3(a). It explicitly excludes other categories of aliens, some of which had concerned courts, including (among others) any lawful permanent resident. Id. § 3(b). After the completion of the review, the Order directs the Secretary of Homeland Security, "in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Attorney General," to recommend countries "for inclusion in a Presidential proclamation that would prohibit the entry of appropriate categories of foreign nationals of countries that have not provided the information requested until they do so," have an "adequate plan to do so," or have "adequately shared information through other means." Id. § 2(e).

The Order also contains a detailed provision permitting case-by-case waivers where denying entry "would cause undue hardship"

⁵ Although the January Order had extended the suspension to Iraq, the Order omits Iraq from the suspension due to "the close cooperative relationship between" the U.S. and Iraqi governments, and the fact that, since the January Order, "the Iraqi government has expressly undertaken steps" to supply information necessary to help identify possible threats. Order § 1(g); see id. § 4.

and "entry would not pose a threat to national security and would be in the national interest." Order § 3(c). It lists illustrative circumstances for which waivers could be appropriate, including:

- individuals who seek entry "to visit or reside with a close family member (e.g., a spouse, child, or parent) who is a [U.S.] citizen, lawful permanent resident, or alien lawfully admitted on a valid nonimmigrant visa," id. § 3(c)(iv);
- individuals who were previously "admitted to the United States for a continuous period of work, study, or other long-term activity" but are currently outside the country and seeking to reenter, id. § 3(c)(i); and
- individuals who seek entry for "significant business or professional obligations," id. § 3(c)(iii).

Waivers can be requested, and will be acted on by a consular officer, "as part of the visa issuance process," or they may be granted by the Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection or his delegee. Id. § 3(c).

b. Section 6 of the Order suspends adjudication of applications under the Refugee Program and travel of refugees for 120 days to permit the Secretary of State, in conjunction with the Secretary of Homeland Security and in consultation with the Director of National Intelligence, to review the Refugee Program and "determine what additional procedures should be used to ensure that individuals seeking admission as refugees do not pose a threat to the security and welfare of the United States." Order § 6(a). The suspension does not apply to refugee applicants who were formally scheduled for transit to the United States before the

Order's effective date, and it is also subject to case-by-case waivers. Id. § 6(a) and (c). Section 6(b) of the Order limits to 50,000 the number of refugees who may be admitted in Fiscal Year 2017. Unlike the January Order, the Order does not prioritize refugee claims by victims of religious persecution.

4. a. Respondents are the State of Hawaii and Dr. Elshikh. They filed suit in the District of Hawaii challenging the January Order. After the new Order issued, they filed their operative complaint and sought a temporary restraining order (TRO) against Sections 2 and 6 "across the nation." C.A. E.R. 173. Respondents claim that the Order exceeds the President's statutory authority and violates the Due Process and Establishment Clauses. C.A. E.R. 167-173. Hawaii alleges that the Order would adversely affect students and faculty at its state-run educational institutions, reduce tourism, and damage the public welfare. See C.A. E.R. 139-141. Dr. Elshikh is a Muslim U.S. citizen who lives in Hawaii with his wife and children. C.A. E.R. 142-143. He claims that his Syrian mother-in-law lacks a visa to enter the country and thus cannot visit him and his family in Hawaii. Ibid.

b. On March 15, 2017, after expedited briefing and argument, the district court entered a nationwide TRO barring enforcement of Sections 2 and 6 in their entirety. Addendum, infra (Add.), 25-67. The court held that Hawaii has standing based on alleged harms to its university system and tourism industry, and

that Dr. Elshikh has standing based on his allegation that he is harmed by the Order's purportedly discriminatory message. Add. 40-49. On the merits, the court held that respondents are likely to succeed on their claim that the Order violates the Establishment Clause. Add. 52-64. The court acknowledged that the Order "does not facially discriminate for or against any particular religion," but it held -- based primarily on campaign statements made by then-candidate Donald Trump and subsequent statements by his aides -- that "religious animus dr[ove] the promulgation of the [Order]." Add. 54, 57. The court "expresse[d] no view" on respondents' statutory or due-process claims. Add. 53 n.11.

c. On March 29, 2017, the district court converted the TRO to a preliminary injunction based on the same considerations. Add. 1-24. It declined to consider whether the Order's national-security rationale is a "facially legitimate and bona fide reason" under Kleindienst v. Mandel, 408 U.S. 753, 770 (1972). Add. 15. The court also declined to limit the injunction to Section 2(c)'s temporary suspension on entry for nationals of six countries. Add. 20-23. The court reasoned that "the entirety of the [Order] runs afoul of the Establishment Clause," and the "historical context and evidence relied on by the [c]ourt * * * does not parse between Section 2 and Section 6, nor * * * between subsections within Section 2." Add. 20-21. It declined to stay the injunction

pending appeal. Add. 23. The court again did not address respondents' other challenges to the Order. Add. 14 n.3.

5. The government promptly appealed the preliminary injunction and requested a stay and expedited briefing. A panel of the Ninth Circuit heard oral argument on May 15, 2017, but it has not yet ruled on the government's stay motion or on the merits.

6. Meanwhile, litigation over the January Order and the new Order has proceeded in other courts. In Washington, the Ninth Circuit sua sponte denied reconsideration en banc of the denial of a stay of an injunction against the January Order, over the dissent of five judges who issued three separate opinions. Amended Order, Washington v. Trump, No. 17-35105 (Mar. 17, 2017). Judge Bybee concluded that Mandel provides the governing "test for judging executive and congressional action [for] aliens who are outside our borders and seeking admission." Id., slip op. at 11 (Bybee, J., dissenting from denial of reconsideration en banc). Judge Kozinski concluded that using campaign and other unofficial statements made outside the process of "crafting an official policy" to establish "unconstitutional motives" is improper, "unworkable," and yields "absurd result[s]." Id., slip op. at 5-6 (Kozinski, J., dissenting from denial of reconsideration en banc) (Washington Kozinski Dissent).

On March 16, 2017, the United States District Court for the District of Maryland granted a preliminary injunction against only

Section 2(c) -- declining to enjoin other provisions, including Section 6's refugee provisions. IRAP v. Trump, No. 17-361, 2017 WL 1018235, at *18. The government appealed and sought a stay and expedited briefing. The Fourth Circuit sua sponte ordered initial en banc hearing, heard argument on May 8, and on May 25, it affirmed that injunction in principal part in a divided decision and denied a stay. IRAP v. Trump, No. 17-1351, 2017 WL 2273306 (May 25, 2017). The government is today filing a petition for a writ of certiorari to review that ruling and an application for a stay of the IRAP injunction pending disposition of the petition.

ARGUMENT

Under this Court's Rule 23 and the All Writs Act, 28 U.S.C. 1651, this Court, or a single Justice, has authority to stay a district-court order pending appeal to a court of appeals.⁶ "In considering stay applications on matters pending before the Court of Appeals, a Circuit Justice" considers three questions: first, he "must try to predict whether four Justices would vote to grant

⁶ See, e.g., West Virginia v. EPA, 136 S. Ct. 1000 (2016); Ashcroft v. North Jersey Media Grp., Inc., 536 U.S. 954 (2002); INS v. Legalization Assistance Project, 510 U.S. 1301 (1993) (O'Connor, J., in chambers); United States Dep't of Def. v. Meinhold, 510 U.S. 939 (1993); United States Dep't of Commerce v. Assembly of Cal., 501 U.S. 1272 (1991); United States Dep't of Justice v. Rosenfeld, 501 U.S. 1227 (1991); Heckler v. Redbud Hosp. Dist., 473 U.S. 1308, 1314 (1985) (Rehnquist, J., in chambers); Heckler v. Lopez, 463 U.S. 1328, 1330 (1983) (Rehnquist, J., in chambers); Bureau of Econ. Analysis v. Long, 450 U.S. 975 (1981); Stephen M. Shapiro et al., Supreme Court Practice 881-884 (10th ed. 2013) (Shapiro).

certiorari" if the court below ultimately rules against the applicant; second, he must "try to predict whether the Court would then set the order aside"; and third, he must "balance the so-called stay equities," San Diegans for the Mt. Soledad Nat'l War Mem'l v. Paulson, 548 U.S. 1301, 1302 (2006) (Kennedy, J., in chambers) (internal quotation marks omitted), by "determin[ing] whether the injury asserted by the applicant outweighs the harm to other parties or to the public," Lucas v. Townsend, 486 U.S. 1301, 1304 (1988) (Kennedy, J., in chambers); see Hilton v. Braunskill, 481 U.S. 770, 776 (1987) (traditional stay factors). Here, as explained below, all of those factors counsel strongly in favor of a stay.

At a minimum, the injunction -- which bars enforcement of Sections 2 and 6 in their entirety, as to all persons worldwide -- is vastly overbroad and should be stayed to the extent it goes beyond remedying the alleged injury to respondent Dr. Elshikh. In addition, the Court may construe this application as a petition for a writ of certiorari before judgment and grant certiorari both in this case and in IRAP v. Trump, No. 17-1351, 2017 WL 2273306 (4th Cir. May 25, 2017) (en banc), see Nken v. Mukasey, 555 U.S. 1042 (2008) (treating stay application as petition for a writ of certiorari and granting petition); Purcell v. Gonzalez, 549 U.S. 1, 2 (2006) (per curiam) (same); Shapiro 418-419, while staying the injunction pending a final disposition.

1. If the Ninth Circuit affirms the injunction in whole or in part, this Court is likely to grant review. As explained at length in the stay application and the petition for a writ of certiorari in IRAP, the Fourth Circuit's decision in that case enjoining Section 2(c)'s temporary suspension presents exceptionally important questions of federal law. Appl. for Stay at 18-22, Trump v. IRAP, No. 16-A-____; Pet. at 33-34, Trump v. IRAP, No. 16-____ (IRAP Pet.). The en banc Fourth Circuit upheld an injunction setting aside Section 2(c) even though it was issued by the President at the height of his authority: it was expressly authorized by an Act of Congress that "implement[s] an inherent executive power" regarding the "admissibility of aliens," United States ex rel. Knauff v. Shaughnessy, 338 U.S. 537, 542 (1950); see 8 U.S.C. 1182(f), 1185(a)(1). The Order also was informed by the advice of Cabinet officials responsible for national-security, immigration, foreign-relations, and legal matters, and it drew on prior steps by Congress and the Executive that identified the six countries as posing heightened terrorism risks.

This Court has granted review to address interference with Executive Branch conduct that is of "importance * * * to national security concerns," Department of the Navy v. Egan, 484 U.S. 518, 520 (1988), or with "federal power" over "the law of immigration and alien status," Arizona v. United States, 132 S. Ct. 2492, 2498 (2012). The IRAP injunction causes both types of interference.

IRAP Pet. 14-26, 33-34. A fortiori, if the injunction issued by the Hawaii court in this case is upheld by the Ninth Circuit, it also will warrant this Court's review. In addition to enjoining Section 2(c)'s temporary suspension of entry from six countries, the Hawaii injunction here bars enforcement of every other provision in Sections 2 and 6 -- which address admission of refugees and various purely internal governmental activities. Add. 23.⁷ If this sweeping injunction is affirmed, this Court's review will plainly be appropriate.

2. A stay is also warranted because, if the Ninth Circuit affirms the injunction in this case, there is at least a "fair prospect" that this Court will vacate the injunction in whole or in part, Lucas, 486 U.S. at 1304, either because respondents' claims are not justiciable or because they fail on the merits. And as explained below, see pp. 37-40, infra, it is exceedingly likely that this Court would narrow the injunction, both because it enjoins provisions beyond Section 2(c) that do not even arguably cause respondents any cognizable injury and because they may not obtain global relief against implementation of Section 2(c).

⁷ See Order §§ 2(a) and (b) (DHS must conduct worldwide review of screening procedures and prepare a report), 2(d) (Secretary of State must seek information from foreign governments), 2(e) and (f) (DHS will make recommendations), 2(g) (Secretaries of State and Homeland Security shall submit joint reports), 6(a) and (d) (internal review of refugee program application and adjudication procedures, and of coordination with state and local jurisdictions).

a. In their briefs to both the district court and court of appeals, respondents principally challenged Section 2(c), which temporarily pauses the entry of nationals from six countries that sponsor or shelter terrorism. For many of the reasons set forth in the government's petition for certiorari in IRAP (at 14-20), respondents' Establishment Clause claim is not justiciable.

i. "[T]he power to expel or exclude aliens" is "a fundamental sovereign attribute exercised by the Government's political departments" and "largely immune from judicial control." Fiallo v. Bell, 430 U.S. 787, 792 (1977). That well-established principle is manifested in "the doctrine of consular nonreviewability," under which the decision whether to issue a visa to an alien abroad "is not subject to judicial review * * * unless Congress says otherwise." Saavedra Bruno v. Albright, 197 F.3d 1153, 1156, 1159 (D.C. Cir. 1999); see id. at 1158-1160 (citing authorities); see also Brownell v. Tom We Shung, 352 U.S. 180, 184 n.3, 185 n.6 (1956).

Although this Court has twice permitted limited judicial review for certain constitutional claims, that exception permits only claims by a U.S. citizen that exclusion of an alien violates the citizen's own constitutional rights. See Kleindienst v. Mandel, 408 U.S. 753, 760, 762 (1972) (claim by U.S. citizens that exclusion of speaker violated citizens' own First Amendment rights); Kerry v. Din, 135 S. Ct. 2128, 2131 (2015) (opinion of

Scalia, J.) (claim by U.S. citizen that exclusion of her spouse implicated her own asserted constitutional rights); see also Saavedra Bruno, 197 F.3d at 1163-1164.

That narrow exception does not permit review of respondents' Establishment Clause challenge because Section 2(c)'s temporary suspension of entry for certain aliens abroad does not violate respondents' own rights under the Establishment Clause. Hawaii does not have rights of its own under that Clause that it could assert here, and this Court has held that Hawaii "does not have standing as parens patriae to bring an action against the Federal Government" to protect its residents from alleged discrimination. Alfred L. Snapp & Son, Inc. v. Puerto Rico ex rel. Barez, 458 U.S. 592, 610 n.16 (1982). Notably, the district court did not base Hawaii's putative standing on any injury linked to the State's own Establishment Clause rights. Rather, it relied on purported injuries to Hawaii's universities and tax revenue -- injuries that have nothing to do with religious freedoms. See C.A. E.R. 9-10, 41-45.

Dr. Elshikh similarly does not assert any cognizable violation of his own religious-freedom rights. Even if his mother-in-law's visa-application interview would be scheduled during the 90-day suspension and she were found otherwise eligible for a visa, she may well obtain a waiver under Section 3(c), which permits waivers for aliens from the six countries who "seek[] to enter the

United States to visit or reside with a close family member (e.g., a * * * parent) who is a United States citizen." Order § 3(c)(iv). Any such injury is therefore not ripe because it depends on "contingent future events that may not occur." Texas v. United States, 523 U.S. 296, 300 (1998) (citation omitted). In any event, if Dr. Elshikh's mother-in-law were ultimately denied a visa, that would not implicate Dr. Elshikh's rights under the Establishment Clause because it would not result from any alleged discrimination against him. See McGowan v. Maryland, 366 U.S. 420, 429-430 (1961); see also Elk Grove Unified Sch. Dist. v. Newdow, 542 U.S. 1, 15-18 & n.8 (2004); IRAP Pet. 16-17.

The district court held that Dr. Elshikh is injured because the Order's temporary exclusion of his mother-in-law and other Muslims sends a stigmatizing "message" disfavoring his religion. Add. 48 (citation omitted); see Add. 47-49. That purported injury fares no better. "[O]nly * * * 'those persons who are personally denied equal treatment' by * * * challenged discriminatory conduct" have suffered a violation of their own rights that confers standing to object to "the stigmatizing injury often caused by racial [or other invidious] discrimination." Allen v. Wright, 468 U.S. 737, 755 (1984) (citation omitted). Regardless of "the intensity" of a plaintiff's feelings of aggrievement, objecting to government action directed at others is not the type of "personal injury" that supports standing to sue, "even though the

disagreement is phrased in [Establishment Clause] terms." Valley Forge Christian Coll. v. Americans United for Separation of Church & State, Inc., 454 U.S. 464, 485-486 (1982). A plaintiff suffers such injury for Establishment Clause purposes when he himself is "subjected to unwelcome religious exercises" or "forced to assume special burdens to avoid them." Id. at 486 n.22. Dr. Elshikh is not subject to Section 2(c); it applies only to aliens abroad.

The district court's contrary holding conflicts with In re Navy Chaplaincy, 534 F.3d 756 (D.C. Cir. 2008) (Kavanaugh, J.), cert. denied, 556 U.S. 1167 (2009). As the D.C. Circuit explained there, it would "eviscerate well-settled standing limitations" to allow a putative Establishment Clause plaintiff to "re-characterize[]" an abstract injury flowing from "government action" directed against others as a personal injury from "a governmental message [concerning] religion" directed at the plaintiff. Id. at 764. If that were permissible, the D.C. Circuit noted, the challengers in Valley Forge and other cases "could have obtained standing to sue simply by targeting not the government's action, but rather the government's alleged 'message' of religious preference communicated through that action." Ibid. The D.C. Circuit therefore held that the plaintiffs (Protestant chaplains in the Navy) could not challenge alleged discrimination against others (different Protestant chaplains) by claiming that it conveyed a pro-Catholic message to them. Id. at 762-765.

ii. Neither Hawaii nor Dr. Elshikh has identified any cognizable injury from the other provisions of the Order that the district court enjoined. Respondents suffer no injury from Section 6's provisions temporarily suspending entry of refugees and reducing the maximum number of refugees who may enter the United States in Fiscal Year 2017. Those refugee provisions have no effect on Hawaii's university system or its tourist revenues, and Dr. Elshikh's mother-in-law does not seek entry as a refugee. Indeed, respondents' briefing in support of a TRO never specifically cited the refugee cap and barely mentioned the other refugee provisions. See generally D. Ct. Doc. 65 (Mar. 8, 2017); D. Ct. Doc. 191 (Mar. 14, 2017).

Respondents also do not and cannot identify any cognizable injury from the other provisions of Sections 2 and 6 that address government agencies' internal and diplomatic activities. Reviews of vetting procedures and communications with other governments do not cause any conceivable injury to Hawaii or Dr. Elshikh. They lack standing to challenge those provisions.

b. Even if respondents' Establishment Clause challenge to the Order were justiciable, it lacks merit. The district court in this case held that Sections 2 and 6 of the Order likely violate the Establishment Clause for substantially the same reasons that the district court in IRAP enjoined Section 2(c): that even though the Order is facially neutral with respect to religion, certain

extrinsic material -- primarily campaign statements made by the President before taking office -- reflects an improper religious purpose. That conclusion is wrong as to Section 2(c), IRAP Pet. 20-31, and it is indefensible as to the other provisions of Sections 2 and 6 that the district court enjoined.⁸

i. Respondents' constitutional challenge to the exclusion of aliens abroad is governed by this Court's decision in Mandel, supra. Mandel held that "when the Executive exercises" its authority to exclude aliens from the country "on the basis of a facially legitimate and bona fide reason, the courts will neither

⁸ The district court did not address (let alone base its injunction upon) respondents' due-process or statutory claims. Add. 14 n.3, 53 n.11. Respondents' due-process claim is not justiciable because the alleged delay in the entry of Dr. Elshikh's mother-in-law is speculative. See Gov't C.A. Br. 29. That claim also fails on the merits for two reasons. First, courts have not extended the due-process right from spousal relationships (where it is based on the fundamental right to marry) to in-law relationships. See Din, 135 S. Ct. at 2139 (Kennedy, J., concurring in the judgment) (assuming without deciding that a U.S. citizen has a cognizable liberty interest in her spouse's visa application); Gov't C.A. Reply Br. 27. Second, due process does not require notice or individualized hearings when the government acts through categorical judgments, see Bi-Metallic Inv. Co. v. State Bd. of Equalization, 239 U.S. 441, 445-446 (1915), and in any event the Order's individualized waiver process satisfies any obligation the government might have to Dr. Elshikh. See Gov't C.A. Reply Br. 28. Respondents' statutory claim is barred by consular nonreviewability and in any event lacks merit. See id. at 10-11, 20-26. And as the district court in IRAP v. Trump, recognized, respondents' principal statutory argument would not even justify an injunction against Section 2(c)'s temporary entry suspension, but would affect only the issuance of immigrant visas. No. 17-361, 2017 WL 1018235, at *10 (D. Md. Mar. 16, 2017). It certainly would not support enjoining the remainder of Sections 2 and 6.

look behind the exercise of that discretion, nor test it by balancing its justification against the" asserted constitutional rights of U.S. citizens. 408 U.S. at 770. That test -- which lower courts have "equated" with "rational basis review," IRAP, 2017 WL 2273306, at *15 n.14 (collecting cases) -- reflects the Constitution's allocation of "exclusive[]" power over the exclusion of aliens to Congress and the Executive. Mandel, 408 U.S. at 765; see id. at 770 (rejecting First Amendment challenge by U.S. citizens to exclusion of alien because it rested on a "facially legitimate and bona fide reason").

The district court below erred at the threshold by refusing to apply Mandel and instead following Ninth Circuit precedent that it construed as deeming Mandel inapplicable to the "promulgation of sweeping immigration policy." Add. 16 (citation omitted). This Court, however, has applied Mandel to an Act of Congress that establishes broad immigration policy. Fiallo, 430 U.S. at 792-796 (applying Mandel in rejecting equal-protection challenge to statute governing admission of aliens). Even the Fourth Circuit in IRAP, disagreeing with the district court in that case, concluded that Mandel applies to the plaintiffs' challenges to the Order. 2017 WL 2273306, at *14.

Straightforward application of Mandel resolves this case. Section 2(c) is premised on a facially legitimate purpose: protecting national security. Order §§ 1(f), 2(c). And the Order

sets forth a bona fide factual basis for that justification: Congress or the Executive previously identified the six countries as presenting heightened terrorism-related risks, and conditions in each country “diminish[] the foreign government’s willingness or ability to share or validate important information” needed to vet their nationals. Id. § 1(d); see id. § 1(e).

Respondents invited the district court to look behind the Order’s stated justification, asserting that it was a “pretext” given in “bad faith.” D. Ct. Doc. 191, at 20; see D. Ct. Doc. 65, at 29. But the Mandel Court explicitly held that the “bona fide” standard does not permit “look[ing] behind” the government’s stated reason. 408 U.S. at 770. Rather, courts can ensure that the stated reason bears a rational relationship to the government’s action -- i.e., that the reason is facially bona fide as well as legitimate. Indeed, the Court declined Justice Marshall’s invitation in dissent to take “[e]ven the briefest peek behind the Attorney General’s reason for refusing a waiver.” Id. at 778. Respondents’ approach cannot be squared with what Mandel said or what it did. See IRAP, 2017 WL 2273306, at *61 (Niemeyer, J., dissenting).

Respondents also misread a statement in Justice Kennedy’s concurrence in Din, supra, to support rewriting Mandel’s settled rule. D. Ct. Doc. 191, at 16-17. As explained in the certiorari petition in IRAP (at 23-26), the Din concurrence did not endorse

such a wide-ranging search for pretext. Rather, it posited a much narrower scenario: where a U.S. citizen plausibly alleges with particularity that a consular officer had no "bona fide factual basis" for denying a visa on a specific statutory ground (in Din, the applicant's ties to terrorism), and the visa denial implicates the citizen's own constitutional rights, due process may entitle the citizen to "additional factual details" about the consular officer's decision (provided the information is not classified). 135 S. Ct. at 2140, 2141.

That inquiry is inapposite here for two independent reasons. First, the statute authorizing the Order's suspension does not specify any particular factual predicates: the President need only determine that, in his judgment, entry "would be detrimental to the interests of the United States." 8 U.S.C. 1182(f). Second, the district court did not question that the terrorism-related grounds set forth in the Order provide an adequate factual basis for Section 2(c)'s temporary suspension of entry.

ii. Even if the district court could appropriately disregard Mandel, its conclusion that the Order is likely unconstitutional would still be incorrect. In assessing domestic measures under the Establishment Clause, courts focus on "the 'text, legislative history, and implementation of the statute.'" McCreary County v. ACLU of Ky., 545 U.S. 844, 862 (2005) (citation omitted). As the district court acknowledged, the Order "does not facially

discriminate for or against any particular religion" or religion in general. Add. 54. The Order is also religion-neutral in "operation." Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye, Inc. v. City of Hialeah, 508 U.S. 520, 535 (1993) (Lukumi). Section 2(c) draws distinctions among countries based on national-security risks identified by Congress and the Executive, not religion, and applies evenhandedly in the countries it covers.

The district court noted that the "six countries have overwhelmingly Muslim populations." Add. 55. But that does not establish that the suspension's object is to single out Islam. Those countries were previously identified by Congress and the Executive for reasons respondents do not contend were religiously motivated: each "is a state sponsor of terrorism, has been significantly compromised by terrorist organizations, or contains active conflict zones." Order § 1(d). Those countries represent a small fraction of the world's Muslim-majority countries and of the global Muslim population. And the suspension covers all nationals of those countries, including many non-Muslim individuals, who meet the Order's criteria. To regard the dominant religion of a country as evidence of an Establishment Clause violation could intrude on "every foreign policy decision made by the political branches." Washington Kozinski Dissent 3 n.2. Such measures often address particular nations with a dominant religion.

The other provisions of the Order the district court enjoined are also indisputably religion-neutral. Section 6's provisions temporarily suspending adjudication of applications and travel by aliens seeking refugee admission and reducing the maximum number of refugees who may be admitted this fiscal year apply to nationals of all countries worldwide. And the remaining provisions of Sections 2 and 6 concerning internal and diplomatic government activities have no connection to nationality or religion.

The district court reached its contrary conclusion -- that the Order's "stated secular purpose" is "secondary to a religious objective" -- based on certain extrinsic material, principally comments made by then-candidate Donald Trump and by campaign and presidential aides. Add. 60 (citation omitted); see Add. 54-60. That approach is fundamentally misguided. Divining the import of such statements for the President's action would entail the "judicial psychoanalysis of" an official's "heart of hearts" that this Court has rejected. McCreary, 545 U.S. at 862. Indeed, as far as the government is aware, until now no court has ever held that a provision of federal law neutral on its face and in operation violates the Establishment Clause based on speculation about its drafters' illicit purpose.

Courts should be especially reluctant to look to such extrinsic material to impeach a national-security and foreign-affairs judgment made by the President. The "presumption of

regularity" that attaches to all federal officials' actions, United States v. Chemical Found., Inc., 272 U.S. 1, 14 (1926), and the respect owed to a coordinate branch, apply with the utmost force to decisions made by the President himself. And when the Executive "disclose[s]" his "reasons for deeming nationals of a particular country a special threat," courts are "ill equipped to determine their authenticity and utterly unable to assess their adequacy." Reno v. American-Arab Anti-Discrim. Comm., 525 U.S. 471, 491 (1999).

Attempting to do so also would threaten impermissible intrusion on privileged internal Executive deliberations, see United States v. Nixon, 418 U.S. 683, 708 (1974), and carries the potential for litigant-driven discovery that would disrupt the President's execution of the laws, see Nixon v. Fitzgerald, 457 U.S. 731, 749-750 (1982). Litigants in other cases challenging the Order already have requested such discovery. The plaintiffs in Washington, for example, have sought nearly a year of discovery, including up to 30 depositions of White House staff and Cabinet officials. See Joint Status Report & Discovery Plan at 5-13, Washington v. Trump, No. 17-141 (W.D. Wash. Apr. 5, 2017) (ECF No. 177). This Court should reject a rule that invites probing the Chief Executive's actions in this manner. See Hein v. Freedom from Religion Found., Inc., 551 U.S. 587, 616-617 (2007) (Kennedy, J., concurring).

iii. At a minimum, the district court erred in relying on statements made during a political campaign. Statements made before the President took the prescribed oath of office to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution," U.S. Const. Art. II, § 1, Cl. 8, and formed an Administration cannot provide a valid basis for discrediting the stated national-security purpose of subsequent, official action. Attempting to assess what campaign statements reveal about the motivation for later action would "mire [courts] in a swamp of unworkable litigation," forcing them to wrestle with intractable questions, including the level of generality at which a statement must be made, by whom, and how long after its utterance the statement remains probative. Washington Kozinski Dissent 5. That approach would inevitably devolve into the "judicial psychoanalysis" that McCreary repudiated. 545 U.S. at 862. And it "has no rational limit." IRAP, 2017 WL 2273306, at *64 (Niemeyer, J., dissenting).

Without campaign materials, the district court's analysis collapses. The district court cited only a handful of ambiguous and offhand, post-inauguration remarks by the President and aides, none of which exhibits a religious aim. Add. 18, 35-36, 59; see IRAP Pet. 30-31. Even under the domestic Establishment Clause precedent that the district court applied, those post-inauguration statements are not a sufficient basis for the court's conclusion

that the President -- acting on the recommendation of Members of his Cabinet -- acted pretextually and in bad faith.

3. a. A stay is also warranted because the injunction causes direct, irreparable injury to the interests of the government and the public (which merge here, Nken v. Holder, 556 U.S. 418, 435 (2009)). "[A]ny time a State is enjoined by a court from effectuating statutes enacted by representatives of its people, it suffers a form of irreparable injury." Maryland v. King, 133 S. Ct. 1, 3 (2012) (Roberts, C.J., in chambers) (quoting New Motor Vehicle Bd. of Cal. v. Orrin W. Fox Co., 434 U.S. 1345, 1351 (1977) (Rehnquist, J., in chambers)) (brackets in original).

A fortiori, that principle applies here. The Executive represents the people of all 50 States, not just one. Enjoining Section 2's temporary entry suspension and Section 6's temporary refugee suspension -- which reflect a national-security judgment of the President and Cabinet-level officials -- threatens a harm far greater in magnitude than enjoining the state law-enforcement tool at issue in King. And enjoining provisions that direct government agencies to assess the adequacy of existing screening and vetting procedures, to review the Refugee Program, and to undertake other measures to enhance cooperation with other countries disables the government from taking action to protect the Nation.

The district court's ruling also improperly inserts the judiciary into sensitive matters of foreign affairs and risks "what [this] Court has called in another context 'embarrassment of our government abroad' through 'multifarious pronouncements by various departments on one question.'" Sanchez-Espinoza v. Reagan, 770 F.2d 202, 209 (D.C. Cir. 1985) (Scalia, J.) (quoting Baker v. Carr, 369 U.S. 186, 217, 226 (1962)). In his recent address to a gathering of Middle East leaders in Saudi Arabia, the President urged that the global fight against terrorism "is not a battle between different faiths, different sects, or different civilizations," but one "between barbaric criminals who seek to obliterate human life and decent people" of all religions who "want to protect life."⁹ Although the President decried "the murder of innocent Muslims" by terrorist groups, and called for "tolerance and respect * * * no matter [one's] faith or ethnicity," May 21 Speech, the district court invalidated Sections 2 and 6 as rooted in "religious animus, invective, and obvious pretext," Add. 16. The district court's pronouncement -- that the President of the United States acted with animus toward one of the world's dominant religions, notwithstanding his public statements to the contrary -- plainly carries the potential to undermine the Executive's ability to conduct foreign relations for the Nation.

⁹ President Trump's Full Speech from Saudi Arabia on Global Terrorism, Wash. Post, May 21, 2017, <https://goo.gl/viJRg2> (May 21 Speech).

b. By contrast, respondents have failed to "demonstrate that irreparable injury is likely in the absence of an injunction." Winter v. Natural Res. Def. Council, Inc., 555 U.S. 7, 22 (2008). As discussed above, p. 24, supra, respondents have identified no injury they will suffer as a result of Section 6's refugee-related provisions or the provisions of Sections 2 and 6 concerning the government's internal and diplomatic activities. As to Section 2(c), respondents have not demonstrated any likely irreparable injury during its brief 90-day pause in entry. Even if Dr. Elshikh's mother-in-law would be found otherwise eligible for a visa and would not receive a waiver, the potential temporary delay in entry does not constitute irreparable harm to respondents.

The district court did not hold otherwise. Instead, it held that "irreparable harm may be presumed with the finding of a violation of the First Amendment." Add. 64. The only purported violation of Dr. Elshikh's First Amendment rights stems not from any delay in his mother-in-law's entry, but rather from his alleged condemnation injury, i.e., the harm he claims to have suffered from the alleged "message" disfavoring his religion. Add. 48 (citation omitted). As explained above, see pp. 22-23, supra, that injury is not cognizable at all, and so the basis for the court's irreparable-harm ruling evaporates. In any event, that claimed injury does not outweigh the governmental and public

interests that support allowing the Order to take effect. Balancing the respective interests, a stay is clearly warranted.

4. At a minimum, a stay is warranted because the injunction is overbroad in multiple respects. See United States Department of Def. v. Meinhold, 510 U.S. 939 (1993).

a. The district court's injunction impermissibly purports to enjoin the President himself. It has been settled for 150 years that courts generally "ha[ve] no jurisdiction * * * to enjoin the President in the performance of his official duties." Franklin v. Massachusetts, 505 U.S. 788, 802-803 (1992) (opinion of O'Connor, J.) (quoting Mississippi v. Johnson, 71 U.S. (4 Wall.) 475, 501 (1867)); id. at 823-828 (Scalia, J., concurring in part and concurring in the judgment). Any injunction must be confined to run only against federal agencies and officials, as the Fourth Circuit acknowledged in IRAP. See 2017 WL 2273306, at *27.

b. The district court further erred by enjoining Section 2(c) on its face. Respondents have fallen far short of carrying their burden of "establish[ing] that no set of circumstances exists under which the [Order] would be valid." United States v. Salerno, 481 U.S. 739, 745 (1987). For example, it is clearly lawful as applied to foreign nationals with no immediate relatives in the country and no other significant connection to it; such aliens abroad have no First Amendment rights, and no person in the U.S. can claim that exclusion of such aliens violates the person's own

rights. The district court offered no basis for enjoining the Order's application to persons as to whom it is indisputably valid.

c. The injunction's broad sweep -- categorically enjoining Sections 2 and 6 -- also violates the well-settled rule that injunctive relief must be limited to redressing a plaintiff's own injuries stemming from a violation of his own rights. Article III requires that "[t]he remedy" sought "be limited to the inadequacy that produced the injury in fact that the plaintiff has established." Lewis v. Casey, 518 U.S. 343, 357 (1996). Bedrock rules of equity independently support the same requirement that injunctions be no broader than "necessary to provide complete relief to the plaintiff[]." Madsen v. Women's Health Ctr., Inc., 512 U.S. 753, 765 (1994) (citation omitted). This rule applies with even greater force to a preliminary injunction, an equitable tool designed merely to "preserve the relative positions of the parties until a trial on the merits can be held." University of Tex. v. Camenisch, 451 U.S. 390, 395 (1981). The district court's injunction violates this rule in two ways.

i. The court erred in enjoining all parts of Sections 2 and 6, without considering whether each part causes any cognizable injury to respondents. Various subsections of both Sections 2 and 6 immediately affect only the government itself. They direct federal agencies to examine current procedures, to make recommendations and update policies, and to initiate inter-

governmental diplomatic and official communications. Those provisions do not pose any injury to Hawaii or Dr. Elshikh. See p. 24, supra. In addition, Section 6's refugee provisions -- temporarily suspending the Refugee Program (Order § 6(a)) and adopting a lower annual limit on the number of refugees admitted (id. § 6(b)) -- cause no harm to respondents. See p. 24, supra. With no harm to redress, enjoining Section 6 and the internal and diplomatic provisions of Section 2 was unwarranted.

The district court reasoned that, "because the entirety of the Executive Order runs afoul of the Establishment Clause," it had "no basis to narrow" injunctive relief to provisions that affect respondents. Add. 21. That conflates the scope of the purported legal defect in the Order with the extent of respondents' alleged injury that an injunction would address. The court cited Lukumi, supra, see Add. 21, but that case only confirms that the court was required to trace harms from each provision to respondents as a predicate for injunctive relief. The Court in Lukumi enjoined the city ordinances at issue because each element of the ordinances caused harm to church members' religious exercise. 508 U.S. at 535. The opposite is true here; most of Section 2 of the Order and all of Section 6 have no bearing on any cognizable harms to respondents.¹⁰

¹⁰ The district court also asserted that the government failed to "provide a workable framework for narrowing [the injunction's] scope" to exclude provisions concerning internal and diplomatic activities. Add. 22. But it did not address the government's

ii. The district court separately erred by enjoining Sections 2 and 6 as to all persons worldwide, rather than limiting the injunction to those persons whose entry is allegedly necessary to redress any concrete, individualized, and cognizable injuries to respondents. The district court held that Dr. Elshikh has standing to challenge the Order based on the alleged message it supposedly sends. Add. 11, 47-49. But this Court has never permitted a plaintiff to reframe government conduct directed at aliens abroad as government speech directed at U.S. citizens in order to obtain an injunction -- much less a global injunction -- against the unwanted message. Even assuming that the possible delay in Dr. Elshikh's mother-in-law's ability to travel to Hawaii were a cognizable, irreparable injury, it would be fully redressed by enjoining the Order's application to her. At a minimum, as the Court did in Meinhold, it should limit the injunction to Dr. Elshikh's mother-in-law while the injunction's validity and scope are adjudicated. 510 U.S. at 939.

The district court suggested that the importance of uniform immigration law compels nationwide relief. Add. 44-45. Limiting any injunctive relief to Dr. Elshikh's mother-in-law would pose no genuine threat to uniformity. Respect for uniformity requires leaving the Order's global policy in place, with individualized

detailed explanation why each subsection at issue besides Section 2(c) concerns only internal or diplomatic matters and does not harm respondents. D. Ct. Doc. 251, at 4-7, 25-27 (Mar. 24, 2017).

exceptions for any respondents who have established irreparable injury from a violation of their own rights. The Order's severability clause compels the same conclusion. Order § 15 (If "the application of any provision [of the Order] to any person or circumstance[] is held to be invalid, * * * the application of [the Order's] other provisions to any other persons or circumstances shall not be affected."). Tailored relief would pose much less interference than enjoining the Order nationwide based on the injuries of only one individual.

CONCLUSION

The injunction should be stayed in its entirety pending the disposition of the appeal in the Ninth Circuit and, if that court affirms the injunction, pending the filing and disposition of a petition for a writ of certiorari and any further proceedings in this Court. At a minimum, the injunction should be stayed as to all persons other than Dr. Elshikh's mother-in-law. In addition, the Court may construe this application as a petition for a writ of certiorari before judgment and grant the petition along with the petition for a writ of certiorari in IRAP, while staying the injunction pending a final disposition.

Respectfully submitted.

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Acting Solicitor General

JUNE 2017

ADDENDUM

District Court Order Granting Motion to Convert Temporary Restraining Order to a Preliminary Injunction (D. Haw. Mar. 29, 2017)	1
District Court Order Granting Motion for Temporary Restraining Order (D. Haw. Mar. 15, 2017)	25
Exec. Order No. 13,769, 82 Fed. Reg. 8977 (Feb. 1, 2017)	68
Exec. Order No. 13,780, 82 Fed. Reg. 13,209 (Mar. 9, 2017)	74

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF HAWAI‘I

STATE OF HAWAI‘I and ISMAIL
ELSHIKH,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

DONALD J. TRUMP, *et al.*,

Defendants.

CV. NO. 17-00050 DKW-KSC

**ORDER GRANTING MOTION TO
CONVERT TEMPORARY
RESTRAINING ORDER TO A
PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

INTRODUCTION

On March 15, 2017, the Court temporarily enjoined Sections 2 and 6 of Executive Order No. 13,780, entitled, “Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States,” 82 Fed. Reg. 13209 (Mar. 6, 2017). *See* Order Granting Mot. for TRO, ECF No. 219 [hereinafter TRO]. Plaintiffs State of Hawai‘i and Ismail Elshikh, Ph.D., now move to convert the TRO to a preliminary injunction. *See* Pls.’ Mot. to Convert TRO to Prelim. Inj., ECF No. 238 [hereinafter Motion].

Upon consideration of the parties’ submissions, and following a hearing on March 29, 2017, the Court concludes that, on the record before it, Plaintiffs have met

their burden of establishing a strong likelihood of success on the merits of their Establishment Clause claim, that irreparable injury is likely if the requested relief is not issued, and that the balance of the equities and public interest counsel in favor of granting the requested relief. Accordingly, Plaintiffs' Motion (ECF No. 238) is GRANTED.

BACKGROUND

The Court briefly recounts the factual and procedural background relevant to Plaintiffs' Motion. A fuller recitation of the facts is set forth in the Court's TRO. *See* TRO 3–14, ECF No. 219.

I. The President's Executive Orders

A. Executive Order No. 13,769

On January 27, 2017, the President of the United States issued Executive Order No. 13,769 entitled, "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States," 82 Fed. Reg. 8977 (Jan. 27, 2017).¹ On March 6, 2017, the

¹On February 3, 2017, the State filed its complaint and an initial motion for TRO, which sought to enjoin Sections 3(c), 5(a)–(c), and 5(e) of Executive Order No. 13,769. Pls.' Mot. for TRO, Feb. 3, 2017, ECF No. 2. The Court stayed the case (*see* ECF Nos. 27 & 32) after the United States District Court for the Western District of Washington entered a nationwide preliminary injunction enjoining the Government from enforcing the same provisions of Executive Order No. 13,769 targeted by the State. *See Washington v. Trump*, No. C17-0141JLR, 2017 WL 462040 (W.D. Wash. Feb. 3, 2017). On February 4, 2017, the Government filed an emergency motion in the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit seeking a stay of the *Washington* TRO, pending appeal. That emergency motion was denied on February 9, 2017. *See Washington v. Trump*, 847 F.3d 1151 (9th Cir.) (per curium), *denying reconsideration en banc*, --- F.3d ---, 2017

President issued another Executive Order, No. 13,780, identically entitled, “Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States” (the “Executive Order”), 82 Fed. Reg. 13209. Like its predecessor, the Executive Order restricts the entry of foreign nationals from specified countries and suspends the United States refugee program for specified periods of time.

B. Executive Order No. 13,780

Section 1 of the Executive Order declares that its purpose is to “protect [United States] citizens from terrorist attacks, including those committed by foreign nationals.” By its terms, the Executive Order also represents a response to the Ninth Circuit’s per curiam decision in *Washington v. Trump*, 847 F.3d 1151. According to the Government, it “clarifies and narrows the scope of Executive action regarding immigration, extinguishes the need for emergent consideration, and eliminates the potential constitutional concerns identified by the Ninth Circuit.” Notice of Filing of Executive Order 4–5, ECF No. 56.

Section 2 suspends from “entry into the United States” for a period of 90 days, certain nationals of six countries referred to in Section 217(a)(12) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 U.S.C. § 1101 *et seq.*: Iran, Libya, Somalia,

WL 992527 (9th Cir. 2017). On March 8, 2017, the Ninth Circuit granted the Government’s unopposed motion to voluntarily dismiss the appeal. *See* Order, Case No. 17-35105 (9th Cir. Mar. 8, 2017), ECF No. 187.

Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. 8 U.S.C. § 1187(a)(12); Exec. Order § 2(c). The suspension of entry applies to nationals of these six countries who (1) are outside the United States on the new Executive Order's effective date of March 16, 2017; (2) do not have a valid visa on that date; and (3) did not have a valid visa as of 5:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time on January 27, 2017 (the date of Executive Order No. 13,769). Exec. Order § 3(a). The 90-day suspension does not apply to: (1) lawful permanent residents; (2) any foreign national admitted to or paroled into the United States on or after the Executive Order's effective date (March 16, 2017); (3) any individual who has a document other than a visa, valid on the effective date of the Executive Order or issued anytime thereafter, that permits travel to the United States, such as an advance parole document; (4) any dual national traveling on a passport not issued by one of the six listed countries; (5) any foreign national traveling on a diplomatic-type or other specified visa; and (6) any foreign national who has been granted asylum, any refugee already admitted to the United States, or any individual granted withholding of removal, advance parole, or protection under the Convention Against Torture. *See* Exec. Order § 3(b). Under Section 3(c)'s waiver provision, foreign nationals of the six countries who are subject to the suspension of entry may nonetheless seek entry on a case-by-case basis.

Section 6 of the Executive Order suspends the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program for 120 days. The suspension applies both to travel into the United States and to decisions on applications for refugee status. *See* Exec. Order § 6(a). It excludes refugee applicants who were formally scheduled for transit by the Department of State before the March 16, 2017 effective date. Like the 90-day suspension, the 120-day suspension includes a waiver provision that allows the Secretaries of State and Homeland Security to admit refugee applicants on a case-by-case basis. *See* Exec. Order § 6(c). Unlike Executive Order No. 13,769, the new Executive Order does not expressly refer to an individual's status as a "religious minority" or refer to any particular religion, and it does not include a Syria-specific ban on refugees.

II. Plaintiffs' Claims

Plaintiffs filed a Second Amended Complaint for Declaratory and Injunctive Relief ("SAC") on March 8, 2017 (ECF No. 64) simultaneous with their Motion for TRO (ECF No. 65). The State asserts that the Executive Order inflicts constitutional and statutory injuries upon its residents, employers, and educational institutions, while Dr. Elshikh alleges injuries on behalf of himself, his family, and members of his Mosque. SAC ¶ 1.

According to Plaintiffs, the Executive Order results in “their having to live in a country and in a State where there is the perception that the Government has established a disfavored religion.” SAC ¶ 5. Plaintiffs assert that by singling out nationals from the six predominantly Muslim countries, the Executive Order causes harm by stigmatizing not only immigrants and refugees, but also Muslim citizens of the United States. Plaintiffs point to public statements by the President and his advisors regarding the implementation of a “Muslim ban,” which Plaintiffs contend is the tacit and illegitimate motivation underlying the Executive Order. *See* SAC ¶¶ 35–60. Plaintiffs argue that, in light of these and similar statements “where the President himself has repeatedly and publicly espoused an improper motive for his actions, the President’s action must be invalidated.” Pls.’ Mem. in Supp. of Mot. for TRO 2, ECF No. 65-1. Plaintiffs additionally present evidence that they contend undermines the purported national security rationale for the Executive Order and demonstrates the Administration’s pretextual justification for the Executive Order. *E.g.*, SAC ¶ 61 (citing Draft DHS Report, SAC, Ex. 10, ECF No. 64-10).

III. March 15, 2017 TRO

The Court’s nationwide TRO (ECF No. 219) temporarily enjoined Sections 2 and 6 of the Executive Order, based on the Court’s preliminary finding that Plaintiffs

demonstrated a sufficient likelihood of succeeding on their claim that the Executive Order violates the Establishment Clause. *See* TRO 41–42. The Court concluded, based upon the showing of constitutional injury and irreparable harm, the balance of equities, and public interest, that Plaintiffs met their burden in seeking a TRO, and directed the parties to submit a stipulated briefing and preliminary injunction hearing schedule. *See* TRO 42–43.

On March 21, 2017, Plaintiffs filed the instant Motion (ECF No. 238) seeking to convert the TRO to a preliminary injunction prohibiting Defendants from enforcing and implementing Sections 2 and 6 of the Executive Order until the matter is fully decided on the merits. They argue that both of these sections are unlawful in all of their applications and that both provisions are motivated by anti-Muslim animus. Defendants oppose the Motion. *See* Govt. Mem. in Opp’n to Mot. to Convert TRO to Prelim. Inj., ECF No. 251. After full briefing and notice to the parties, the Court held a hearing on the Motion on March 29, 2017.

DISCUSSION

The Court’s TRO details why Plaintiffs are entitled to preliminary injunctive relief. *See* TRO 15–43. The Court reaffirms and incorporates those findings and conclusions here, and addresses the parties’ additional arguments on Plaintiffs’ Motion to Convert.

I. Plaintiffs Have Demonstrated Standing At This Preliminary Phase

The Court previously found that Plaintiffs satisfied Article III standing requirements at this preliminary stage of the litigation. *See* TRO 15–21 (State), 22–25 (Dr. Elshikh). The Court renews that conclusion here.

A. Article III Standing

Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution permits federal courts to consider only “cases” and “controversies.” *Massachusetts v. EPA*, 549 U.S. 497, 516 (2007). “[T]o satisfy Article III’s standing requirements, a plaintiff must show (1) it has suffered an ‘injury in fact’ that is (a) concrete and particularized and (b) actual or imminent, not conjectural or hypothetical; (2) the injury is fairly traceable to the challenged action of the defendant; and (3) it is likely, as opposed to merely speculative, that the injury will be redressed by a favorable decision.” *Friends of the Earth, Inc. v. Laidlaw Envtl. Servs. (TOC), Inc.*, 528 U.S. 167, 180–81 (2000) (quoting *Lujan v. Defs. of Wildlife*, 504 U.S. 555, 560–61 (1992)).

“At this very preliminary stage of the litigation, the [Plaintiffs] may rely on the allegations in their Complaint and whatever other evidence they submitted in support of their TRO motion to meet their burden.” *Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1159 (citing *Lujan*, 504 U.S. at 561). “With these allegations and evidence, the [Plaintiffs] must make a ‘clear showing of each element of standing.’” *Id.* (quoting

Townley v. Miller, 722 F.3d 1128, 1133 (9th Cir. 2013), *cert. denied*, 134 S. Ct. 907 (2014)). On the record presented at this preliminary stage of the proceedings, Plaintiffs meet the threshold Article III standing requirements.

B. The State Has Standing

For the reasons stated in the TRO, the State has standing based upon injuries to its proprietary interests. *See* TRO 16–21.²

The State sufficiently identified monetary and intangible injuries to the University of Hawaii. *See, e.g.*, Suppl. Decl. of Risa E. Dickson, Mot. for TRO, Ex. D-1, ECF No. 66-6; Original Dickson Decl., Mot. for TRO, Ex. D-2, ECF No. 66-7. The Court previously found these types of injuries to be nearly indistinguishable from those found sufficient to confer standing according to the Ninth Circuit’s *Washington* decision. *See* 847 F.3d at 1161 (“The necessary connection can be drawn in at most two logical steps: (1) the Executive Order prevents nationals of seven countries from entering Washington and Minnesota; (2) as a result, some of these people will not enter state universities, some will not join those universities as faculty, some will be prevented from performing research, and some will not be

²The Court once again does not reach the State’s alternative standing theory based on protecting the interests of its citizens as *parens patriae*. *See Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1168 n.5 (“The States have asserted other proprietary interests and also presented an alternative standing theory based on their ability to advance the interests of their citizens as *parens patriae*. Because we conclude that the States’ proprietary interests as operators of their public universities are sufficient to support standing, we need not reach those arguments.”).

permitted to return if they leave. And we have no difficulty concluding that the States' injuries would be redressed if they could obtain the relief they ask for: a declaration that the Executive Order violates the Constitution and an injunction barring its enforcement.""). The State also presented evidence of injury to its tourism industry. *See, e.g.*, SAC ¶ 100; Suppl. Decl. of Luis P. Salaveria, Mot. for TRO, Ex. C-1, ECF No. 66-4; Suppl. Decl. of George Szigeti, ¶¶ 5–8, Mot. for TRO, Ex. B-1, ECF No. 66-2.

For purposes of the instant Motion, the Court concludes that the State has preliminarily demonstrated that: (1) its universities will suffer monetary damages and intangible harms; (2) the State's economy is likely to suffer a loss of revenue due to a decline in tourism; (3) such harms can be sufficiently linked to the Executive Order; and (4) the State would not suffer the harms to its proprietary interests in the absence of implementation of the Executive Order. *See* TRO 21. These preliminary findings apply to each of the challenged Sections of the Executive Order. Accordingly, at this early stage of the litigation, the State has satisfied the requirements of Article III standing.

C. Dr. Elshikh Has Standing

Dr. Elshikh likewise has met his preliminary burden to establish standing to assert an Establishment Clause violation. *See* TRO 22–25. “The standing

question, in plain English, is whether adherents to a religion have standing to challenge an official condemnation by their government of their religious views[.] Their ‘personal stake’ assures the ‘concrete adverseness’ required.” *See Catholic League for Religious & Civil Rights v. City & Cty. of San Francisco*, 624 F.3d 1043, 1048–49 (9th Cir. 2010) (en banc). Dr. Elshikh attests that the effects of the Executive Order are “devastating to me, my wife and children.” Elshikh Decl. ¶ 6, Mot. for TRO, Ex. A, ECF No. 66-1; *see also id.* ¶¶ 1, 3 (“I am deeply saddened . . . by the message that both [Executive Orders] convey—that a broad travel-ban is ‘needed’ to prevent people from certain Muslim countries from entering the United States.”); SAC ¶ 90 (“Muslims in the Hawai‘i Islamic community feel that the new Executive Order targets Muslim citizens because of their religious views and national origin. Dr. Elshikh believes that, as a result of the new Executive Order, he and members of the Mosque will not be able to associate as freely with those of other faiths.”). The alleged injuries are sufficiently personal, concrete, particularized, and actual to confer standing in the Establishment Clause context. *E.g.*, SAC ¶¶ 88–90; Elshikh Decl. ¶¶ 1, 3. These injuries have already occurred and will continue to occur if the Executive Order is implemented and enforced; the injuries are neither contingent nor speculative.

The final two aspects of Article III standing—causation and redressability—are also satisfied with respect to each of the Executive Order’s challenged Sections. Dr. Elshikh’s injuries are traceable to the new Executive Order and, if Plaintiffs prevail, a decision enjoining portions of the Executive Order would redress that injury. *See Catholic League*, 624 F.3d at 1053. At this preliminary stage of the litigation, Dr. Elshikh has accordingly carried his burden to establish standing under Article III.

The Court turns to the factors for granting preliminary injunctive relief.

II. Legal Standard: Preliminary Injunctive Relief

The underlying purpose of a preliminary injunction is to preserve the status quo and prevent irreparable harm. *Granny Goose Foods, Inc. v. Bhd. of Teamsters & Auto Truck Drivers Local No. 70*, 415 U.S. 423, 439 (1974); *see also Reno Air Racing Ass’n v. McCord*, 452 F.3d 1126, 1130–31 (9th Cir. 2006).

The Court applies the same standard for issuing a preliminary injunction as it did when considering Plaintiffs’ Motion for TRO. *See Stuhlbarg Int’l Sales Co. v. John D. Brush & Co.*, 240 F.3d 832, 839 n.7 (9th Cir. 2001). A “plaintiff seeking a preliminary injunction must establish that he is likely to succeed on the merits, that he is likely to suffer irreparable harm in the absence of preliminary relief, that the

balance of equities tips in his favor, and that an injunction is in the public interest.”

Winter v. Nat. Res. Def. Council, Inc., 555 U.S. 7, 20 (2008) (citation omitted).

The Court, in its discretion, may convert a temporary restraining order into a preliminary injunction. *See, e.g., ABX Air, Inc. v. Int’l Bhd. of Teamsters*, No. 1:16-CV-1096, 2016 WL 7117388, at *5 (S.D. Ohio Dec. 7, 2016) (granting motion to convert TRO into a preliminary injunction because “Defendants fail to allege any material fact suggesting that, if a hearing were held, this Court would reach a different outcome”; “[n]othing has occurred to alter the analysis in the Court’s original TRO, and since this Court has already complied with the requirements for the issuance of a preliminary injunction, it can simply convert the nature of its existing Order.”); *Productive People, LLC v. Ives Design*, No. CV-09-1080-PHX-GMS, 2009 WL 1749751, at *3 (D. Ariz. June 18, 2009) (“Because Defendants have given the Court no reason to alter the conclusions provided in its previous Order [granting a TRO], and because ‘[t]he standard for issuing a temporary restraining order is identical to the standard for issuing a preliminary injunction,’ the Court will enter a preliminary injunction.” (quoting *Brown Jordan Int’l, Inc. v. Mind’s Eye Interiors, Inc.*, 236 F. Supp. 2d 1152, 1154 (D. Haw. 2002))). Here, the parties were afforded notice, a full-briefing on the

merits, and a hearing both prior to entry of the original TRO and prior to consideration of the instant Motion.

For the reasons that follow and as set forth more fully in the Court's TRO, Plaintiffs have met their burden here.

III. Analysis of Factors: Likelihood of Success on the Merits

The Court's prior finding that Plaintiffs sufficiently established a likelihood of success on the merits of their Count I claim that the Executive Order violates the Establishment Clause remains undisturbed. *See* TRO 30–40.³

A. Establishment Clause

Lemon v. Kurtzman, 403 U.S. 602, 612–13 (1971), provides the benchmark for evaluating whether governmental action is consistent with or at odds with the Establishment Clause. According to *Lemon*, government action (1) must have a primary secular purpose, (2) may not have the principal effect of advancing or inhibiting religion, and (3) may not foster excessive entanglement with religion. *Id.* “Failure to satisfy any one of the three prongs of the *Lemon* test is sufficient to invalidate the challenged law or practice.” *Newdow v. Rio Linda Union Sch. Dist.*, 597 F.3d 1007, 1076–77 (9th Cir. 2010).

³The Court again expresses no view on Plaintiffs' additional statutory or constitutional claims.

The Court determined in its TRO that the preliminary evidence demonstrates the Executive Order's failure to satisfy *Lemon*'s first test. *See* TRO 33–36. The Court will not repeat that discussion here. As no *new* evidence contradicting the purpose identified by the Court has been submitted by the parties since the issuance of the March 15, 2017 TRO, there is no reason to disturb the Court's prior determination.

Instead, the Federal Defendants take a different tack. They once more urge the Court not to look beyond the four corners of the Executive Order. According to the Government, the Court must afford the President deference in the national security context and should not “‘look behind the exercise of [the President’s] discretion’ taken ‘on the basis of a facially legitimate and bona fide reason.’” Govt. Mem. in Opp’n to Mot. for TRO 42–43 (quoting *Kliendienst v. Mandel*, 408 U.S. 753, 770 (1972)), ECF No. 145. No binding authority, however, has decreed that Establishment Clause jurisprudence ends at the Executive’s door. In fact, *every court* that has considered whether to apply the Establishment Clause to either the Executive Order or its predecessor (regardless of the ultimate outcome) has done so.⁴ Significantly, this Court is constrained by the binding precedent and guidance

⁴*See Sarsour v. Trump*, No. 1:17-cv-00120 AJT-IDD, 2017 WL 1113305, at *11 (E.D. Va. Mar. 27, 2017) (“[T]he Court rejects the Defendants’ position that since President Trump has offered a legitimate, rational, and non-discriminatory purpose stated in EO-2, this Court must confine its

offered in *Washington*. There, citing *Lemon*, the Ninth Circuit clearly indicated that the Executive Order is subject to the very type of secular purpose review conducted by this Court in considering the TRO. *Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1167–68; *id.* at 1162 (stating that *Mandel* does not apply to the “promulgation of sweeping immigration policy” at the “highest levels of the political branches”).

The Federal Defendants’ arguments, advanced from the very inception of this action, make sense from this perspective—where the “historical context and ‘the specific sequence of events leading up to’” the adoption of the challenged Executive Order are as full of religious animus, invective, and obvious pretext as is the record here, it is no wonder that the Government urges the Court to altogether ignore that history and context. *See McCreary Cty. v. Am. Civil Liberties Union of Ky.*, 545 U.S. 844, 862 (2005). The Court, however, declines to do so. *Washington*, 847

analysis of the constitutional validity of EO-2 to the four corners of the Order.”) (citations omitted); *Int’l Refugee Assistance Project v. Trump*, No. TDC-17-0361, 2017 WL 1018235, at *16 (D. Md. Mar. 16, 2017) (“Defendants argue that because the Establishment Clause claim implicates Congress’s plenary power over immigration as delegated to the President, the Court need only consider whether the Government has offered a ‘facially legitimate and bona fide reason’ for its action. *Mandel*, 408 U.S. at 777 [A]lthough ‘[t]he Executive has broad discretion over the admission and exclusion of aliens,’ that discretion ‘may not transgress constitutional limitations,’ and it is ‘the duty of the courts’ to ‘say where those statutory and constitutional boundaries lie.’ *Abourezk v. Reagan*], 785 F.2d [1043,] 1061 [(D.C. Cir. 1986)].”); *Aziz v. Trump*, No. 1:17-CV-116 LMB-TCB, 2017 WL 580855, at *8 (E.D. Va. Feb. 13, 2017) (“Moreover, even if *Mandel*[, 408 U.S. at 770,] did apply, it requires that the proffered executive reason be ‘bona fide.’ As the Second and Ninth Circuits have persuasively held, if the proffered ‘facially legitimate’ reason has been given in ‘bad faith,’ it is not ‘bona fide.’ *Am. Academy of Religion v. Napolitano*, 573 F.3d 115, 126 (2d Cir. 2009); *Bustamante v. Mukasey*, 531 F.3d 1059, 1062 (9th Cir. 2008). That leaves the Court in the same position as in an ordinary secular purpose case: determining whether the proffered reason for the EO is the real reason.”)).

F.3d at 1167 (“It is well established that evidence of purpose beyond the face of the challenged law may be considered in evaluating Establishment and Equal Protection Clause claims.”). The Court will not crawl into a corner, pull the shutters closed, and pretend it has not seen what it has.⁵ The Supreme Court and this Circuit both dictate otherwise, and that is the law this Court is bound to follow.

B. Future Executive Action

The Court’s preliminary determination does not foreclose future Executive action. The Court recognizes that it is not the case that the Administration’s past conduct must forever taint any effort by it to address the security concerns of the nation. *See* TRO 38–39. Based upon the preliminary record available, however, one cannot conclude that the actions taken during the interval between revoked Executive Order No. 13,769 and the new Executive Order represent “*genuine* changes in constitutionally significant conditions.” *McCreary*, 545 U.S. at 874 (emphasis added).

The Government emphasizes that “the Executive Branch revised the new Executive Order to avoid any Establishment Clause concerns,” and, in particular,

⁵*See Int’l Refugee Assistance Project*, 2017 WL 1018235, at *14 (“Defendants have cited no authority concluding that a court assessing purpose under the Establishment Clause may consider only statements made by government employees at the time that they were government employees. Simply because a decisionmaker made the statements during a campaign does not wipe them from the ‘reasonable memory’ of a ‘reasonable observer.’” (quoting *McCreary*, 545 U.S. at 866)).

removed the preference for religious minorities provided in Executive Order No. 13,769. Mem. in Opp’n 21, ECF No. 251. These efforts, however, appear to be precisely what Plaintiffs characterize them to be: efforts to “sanitize [Executive Order No. 13,769’s] refugee provision in order to ‘be responsive to a lot of very technical issues that were brought up by the court.’” Mem. in Supp. of Mot. to Convert TRO to Prelim. Inj. 20, ECF No. 238-1 [hereinafter PI Mem.] (quoting SAC ¶ 74(a)). Plaintiffs also direct the Court to the President’s March 15, 2017 description of the Executive Order as “a watered-down version of the first one.” PI Mem. 20 (citing Katyal Decl. 7, Ex. A, ECF No. 239-1). “[A]n implausible claim that governmental purpose has changed should not carry the day in a court of law any more than in a head with common sense.” *McCreary*, 545 U.S. at 874.

IV. Analysis of Factors: Irreparable Harm

Irreparable harm may be *presumed* with the finding of a violation of the First Amendment. See *Klein v. City of San Clemente*, 584 F.3d 1196, 1208 (9th Cir. 2009) (“The loss of First Amendment freedoms, for even minimal periods of time, unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury.” (quoting *Elrod v. Burns*, 427 U.S. 347, 373 (1976))). Because Dr. Elshikh is likely to succeed on the merits of his Establishment Clause claim, the Court finds that the second factor of the *Winter* test is satisfied—that Dr. Elshikh is likely to suffer irreparable, ongoing, and significant

injury in the absence of a preliminary injunction. *See* TRO 40 (citing SAC ¶¶ 88–90; Elshikh Decl. ¶¶ 1, 3).

V. Analysis of Factors: Balance of Equities And Public Interest

The final step in determining whether to grant Plaintiffs’ Motion is to assess the balance of equities and examine the general public interests that will be affected. The Court acknowledges Defendants’ position that the Executive Order is intended “to protect the Nation from terrorist activities by foreign nationals admitted to the United States[.]” Exec. Order, preamble. National security is unquestionably of vital importance to the public interest. The same is true with respect to affording appropriate deference to the President’s constitutional and statutory responsibilities to set immigration policy and provide for the national defense. Upon careful consideration of the totality of the circumstances, however, the Court reaffirms its prior finding that the balance of equities and public interest weigh in favor of maintaining the status quo. As discussed above and in the TRO, Plaintiffs have shown a strong likelihood of succeeding on their claim that the Executive Order violates First Amendment rights under the Constitution. *See* TRO 41–42; *see also Melendres v. Arpaio*, 695 F.3d 990, 1002 (9th Cir. 2012) (“[I]t is *always* in the public interest to prevent the violation of a party’s constitutional rights.” (emphasis added) (citing *Elrod*, 427 U.S. at 373)).

VI. Scope of Preliminary Injunction: Sections 2 And 6

Having considered the constitutional injuries and harms discussed above, the balance of equities, and public interest, the Court hereby grants Plaintiffs' request to convert the existing TRO into a preliminary injunction. The requested nationwide relief is appropriate in light of the likelihood of success on Plaintiffs' Establishment Clause claim. *See, e.g., Texas v. U.S.*, 809 F.3d 134, 188 (5th Cir. 2015) (“[Because] the Constitution vests [district courts] with ‘the judicial Power of the United States’ . . . , [i]t is not beyond the power of the court, in appropriate circumstances, to issue a nationwide injunction.” (citing U.S. Const. art. III, § 1)), *aff’d by an equally divided Court*, 136 S. Ct. 2271 (2016); *see also Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1167 (“Moreover, even if limiting the geographic scope of the injunction would be desirable, the Government has not proposed a workable alternative form of the TRO that accounts for the nation’s multiple ports of entry and interconnected transit system and that would protect the proprietary interests of the States at issue here while nevertheless applying only within the States’ borders.”).

The Government insists that the Court, at minimum, limit any preliminary injunction to Section 2(c) of the Executive Order. It makes little sense to do so. That is because the entirety of the Executive Order runs afoul of the Establishment Clause where “openly available data support[] a commonsense conclusion that a

religious objective permeated the government’s action,” and not merely the promulgation of Section 2(c). *McCreary*, 545 U.S. at 863; *see* SAC ¶¶ 36–38, 58, 107; TRO 16, 24–25, 42. Put another way, the historical context and evidence relied on by the Court, highlighted by the comments of the Executive and his surrogates, does not parse between Section 2 and Section 6, nor does it do so between subsections within Section 2. Accordingly, there is no basis to narrow the Court’s ruling in the manner requested by the Federal Defendants.⁶ *See Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye, Inc. v. City of Hialeah*, 508 U.S. 520, 539–40 (1993) (“[It would be] implausible to suggest that [Section 2(c)] but not the [other Sections] had as [its] object the suppression of [or discrimination against a] religion. . . . We need not decide whether the Ordinance 87–72 could survive constitutional scrutiny if it existed separately; it must be invalidated because it functions, with the rest of the enactments in question, to suppress Santeria religious worship.”).

⁶Plaintiffs further note that the Executive Order “bans refugees at a time when the publicized refugee crisis is focused on Muslim-majority nations.” Reply in Supp. of Mot. to Convert TRO to Prelim. Inj. 14. Indeed, according to Pew Research Center analysis of data from the State Department’s Refugee Processing Center, a total of 38,901 Muslim refugees entered the United States in fiscal year 2016, accounting for nearly half of the almost 85,000 refugees who entered the country during that period. *See* Br. of Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, & Other Major Cities & Counties as Amici Curiae in Supp. of Pls.’ Mot. to Convert TRO to Prelim. Inj. 12, ECF No. 271-1 (citing Phillip Connor, *U.S. Admits Record Number of Muslim Refugees in 2016*, Pew Research Center (Oct. 5, 2016), <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/10/05/u-s-admits-record-number-of-muslim-refugees-in-2016>). “That means the U.S. has admitted the highest number of Muslim refugees of any year since date of self-reported religious affiliations first became publicly available in 2002.” *Id.*

The Court is cognizant of the difficult position in which this ruling might place government employees performing what the Federal Defendants refer to as “inward-facing” tasks of the Executive Order. Any confusion, however, is due in part to the Government’s failure to provide a workable framework for narrowing the scope of the enjoined conduct by specifically identifying those portions of the Executive Order that are in conflict with what it merely argues are “internal governmental communications and activities, most if not all of which could take place in the absence of the Executive Order but the status of which is now, at the very least, unclear in view of the current TRO.” Mem. in Opp’n 29. The Court simply cannot discern, on the present record, a method for determining which enjoined provisions of the Executive Order are causing the alleged confusion asserted by the Government. *See, e.g.*, Mem. in Opp’n 28 (“[A]n internal review of procedures obviously can take place independently of the 90-day suspension-of-entry provision (though doing so would place additional burdens on the Executive Branch, which is one of the several reasons for the 90-day suspension (citing Exec. Order No. 13,780, § 2(c)). Without more, “even if the [preliminary injunction] might be overbroad in some respects, it is not our role to try, in effect, to rewrite the Executive Order.” *Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1167.

CONCLUSION

Based on the foregoing, Plaintiffs' Motion to Convert Temporary Restraining Order to A Preliminary Injunction is hereby GRANTED.

PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

It is hereby ADJUDGED, ORDERED, and DECREED that:

Defendants and all their respective officers, agents, servants, employees, and attorneys, and persons in active concert or participation with them, are hereby enjoined from enforcing or implementing Sections 2 and 6 of the Executive Order across the Nation. Enforcement of these provisions in all places, including the United States, at all United States borders and ports of entry, and in the issuance of visas is prohibited, pending further orders from this Court.

No security bond is required under Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 65(c).

The Court declines to stay this ruling or hold it in abeyance should an appeal of this order be filed.

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IT IS SO ORDERED.

Dated: March 29, 2017 at Honolulu, Hawai'i.




Derrick K. Watson
United States District Judge

State of Hawaii, et al. v. Trump, et al.; Civ. No. 17-00050 DKW-KSC; **ORDER GRANTING MOTION TO CONVERT TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER TO A PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF HAWAI‘I

FILED IN THE
UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
DISTRICT OF HAWAII
12:32 pm, Mar 15, 2017
SUE BEITIA, CLERK

STATE OF HAWAI‘I and ISMAIL
ELSHIKH,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

DONALD J. TRUMP, *et al.*,

Defendants.

CV. NO. 17-00050 DKW-KSC

**ORDER GRANTING MOTION
FOR TEMPORARY
RESTRAINING ORDER**

INTRODUCTION

On January 27, 2017, the President of the United States issued Executive Order No. 13,769 entitled, “Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States.” *See* 82 Fed. Reg. 8977 (Jan. 27, 2017). On March 6, 2017, the President issued another Executive Order, No. 13,780, identically entitled, “Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States.” (the “Executive Order”). *See* 82 Fed. Reg. 13209 (Mar. 6, 2017). The Executive Order

revokes Executive Order No. 13,769 upon taking effect.¹ Exec. Order §§ 13, 14.

Like its predecessor, the Executive Order restricts the entry of foreign nationals from specified countries and suspends entrants from the United States refugee program for specified periods of time.

Plaintiffs State of Hawai‘i (“State”) and Ismail Elshikh, Ph.D. seek a nationwide temporary restraining order that would prohibit the Federal Defendants² from “enforcing or implementing Sections 2 and 6 of the Executive Order” before it takes effect. Pls.’ Mot. for TRO 4, Mar. 8, 2017, ECF No. 65.³ Upon evaluation of the parties’ submissions, and following a hearing on March 15, 2017, the Court concludes that, on the record before it, Plaintiffs have met their burden of establishing a strong likelihood of success on the merits of their Establishment Clause claim, that irreparable injury is likely if the requested relief is not issued, and that the balance of the equities and public interest counsel in favor of granting the requested relief. Accordingly, Plaintiffs’ Motion for TRO (ECF. No. 65) is granted for the reasons detailed below.

¹By its terms, the Executive Order becomes effective as of March 16, 2017 at 12:01 a.m., Eastern Daylight Time—*i.e.*, March 15, 2017 at 6:01 p.m. Hawaii Time. Exec. Order § 14.

²Defendants in the instant action are: Donald J. Trump, in his official capacity as President of the United States; the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (“DHS”); John F. Kelly, in his official capacity as Secretary of DHS; the U.S. Department of State; Rex Tillerson, in his official capacity as Secretary of State; and the United States of America.

³Plaintiffs filed a Second Amended Complaint for Declaratory and Injunctive Relief (“SAC”) on March 8, 2017 simultaneous with their Motion for TRO. SAC, ECF. No. 64.

BACKGROUND

I. The President's Executive Orders

A. Executive Order No. 13,769

Executive Order No. 13,769 became effective upon signing on January 27, 2017. *See* 82 Fed. Reg. 8977. It inspired several lawsuits across the nation in the days that followed.⁴ Among those lawsuits was this one: On February 3, 2017, the State filed its complaint and an initial motion for TRO, which sought to enjoin, nationwide, Sections 3(c), 5(a)–(c), and 5(e) of Executive Order No. 13,769. Pls.' Mot. for TRO, Feb. 3, 2017, ECF No. 2.

This Court did not rule on the State's initial TRO motion because later that same day, the United States District Court for the Western District of Washington entered a nationwide preliminary injunction enjoining the Government from enforcing the same provisions of Executive Order No. 13,769 targeted by the State here. *See Washington v. Trump*, 2017 WL 462040. As such, the Court stayed this case, effective February 7, 2017, specifying that the stay would continue "as long as

⁴*See, e.g., Mohammed v. United States*, No. 2:17-cv-00786-AB-PLA (C.D. Cal. Jan. 31, 2017); *City & Cty. of San Francisco v. Trump*, No. 3:17-cv-00485-WHO (N.D. Cal. Jan. 31, 2017); *Louhghalam v. Trump*, Civil Action No. 17-cv-10154, 2017 WL 386550 (D. Mass. Jan. 29, 2017); *Int'l Refugee Assistance Project v. Trump*, No. 8:17-0361-TDC (D. Md. filed Feb. 7, 2017); *Darweesh v. Trump*, 17 Civ. 480 (AMD), 2017 WL 388504 (E.D.N.Y. Jan. 28, 2017); *Aziz v. Trump*, --- F. Supp. 3d ---, 2017 WL 580855 (E.D. Va. Feb. 13, 2017); *Washington v. Trump*, Case No. C17-0141JLR, 2017 WL 462040 (W.D. Wash. Feb. 3, 2017), *emergency stay denied*, 847 F.3d 1151 (9th Cir. 2017). This list is not exhaustive.

the February 3, 2017 injunction entered in *Washington v. Trump* remain[ed] in full force and effect, or until further order of this Court.” ECF Nos. 27 & 32.

On February 4, 2017, the Government filed an emergency motion in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals seeking a stay of the *Washington* TRO, pending appeal.⁵ *See Washington v. Trump*, No. 17-35105 (9th Cir. Feb. 4, 2017). The Ninth Circuit heard oral argument on February 7, after which it denied the emergency motion via written Order dated February 9, 2017. *See* Case No. 17-35105, ECF Nos. 125 (Tr. of Hr’g), 134 (Filed Order for Publication at 847 F.3d 1151).

On March 8, 2017, the Ninth Circuit granted the Government’s unopposed motion to voluntarily dismiss the appeal. *See* Order, No. 17-35105 (9th Cir. Mar. 8, 2017), ECF No. 187. As a result, the same sections of Executive Order No. 13,769 initially challenged by the State in the instant action remain enjoined as of the date of this Order.

B. The New Executive Order

Section 2 of the new Executive Order suspends from “entry into the United States” for a period of 90 days, certain nationals of six countries referred to in Section 217(a)(12) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (“INA”), 8 U.S.C.

⁵The Government also requested “an immediate administrative stay pending full consideration of the emergency motion for a stay pending appeal” on February 4, 2017 (Emergency Mot. to Stay, No. 17-35105 (9th Cir.), ECF No. 14), which the Ninth Circuit panel swiftly denied (Order, No. 17-35105 (9th Cir.), ECF No. 15).

§ 1101 *et seq.*: Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen.⁶ 8 U.S.C.

§ 1187(a)(12); Exec. Order § 2(c). The suspension of entry applies to nationals of these six countries who (1) are outside the United States on the new Executive Order's effective date of March 16, 2017; (2) do not have a valid visa on that date, and (3) did not have a valid visa as of 5:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time on January 27, 2017 (the date of the prior Executive Order, No. 13,769). Exec. Order § 3(a).

The 90-day suspension does not apply to: (1) lawful permanent residents; (2) any foreign national admitted to or paroled into the United States on or after the Executive Order's effective date (March 16, 2017); (3) any individual who has a document other than a visa, valid on the effective date of the Executive Order or issued anytime thereafter, that permits travel to the United States, such as an advance parole document; (4) any dual national traveling on a passport not issued by one of the six listed countries; (5) any foreign national traveling on a diplomatic-type or other specified visa; and (6) any foreign national who has been granted asylum, any refugee already admitted to the United States, or any individual granted withholding of removal, advance parole, or protection under the Convention Against Torture.

See Exec. Order § 3(b).

⁶Because of the "close cooperative relationship" between the United States and the Iraqi government, the Executive Order declares that Iraq no longer merits inclusion in this list of countries, as it was in Executive Order No. 13,769. Iraq "presents a special case." Exec. Order § 1(g).

Under Section 3(c)'s waiver provision, foreign nationals of the six countries who are subject to the suspension of entry may nonetheless seek entry on a case-by-case basis. The Executive Order includes the following list of circumstances when such waivers "could be appropriate:"

(i) the foreign national has previously been admitted to the United States for a continuous period of work, study, or other longterm activity, is outside the United States on the effective date of the Order, seeks to reenter the United States to resume that activity, and denial of reentry during the suspension period would impair that activity;

(ii) the foreign national has previously established significant contacts with the United States but is outside the United States on the effective date of the Order for work, study, or other lawful activity;

(iii) the foreign national seeks to enter the United States for significant business or professional obligations and the denial of entry during the suspension period would impair those obligations;

(iv) the foreign national seeks to enter the United States to visit a close family member (e.g., a spouse, child, or parent) who is a United States citizen, lawful permanent resident, or alien lawfully admitted on a valid nonimmigrant visa, and the denial of entry during the suspension period would cause undue hardship;

(v) the foreign national is an infant, a young child or adoptee, an individual needing urgent medical care, or someone whose entry is otherwise justified by the special circumstances of the case;

(vi) the foreign national has been employed by, or on behalf of, the United States Government (or is an eligible dependent of

such an employee) and the employee can document that he or she has provided faithful and valuable service to the United States Government;

(vii) the foreign national is traveling for purposes related to an international organization designated under the International Organizations Immunities Act (IOIA), 22 U.S.C. § 288 et seq., traveling for purposes of conducting meetings or business with the United States Government, or traveling to conduct business on behalf of an international organization not designated under IOIA;

(viii) the foreign national is a landed Canadian immigrant who applies for admission at a land border port of entry or a preclearance location located in Canada; or

(ix) the foreign national is traveling as a United States Government sponsored exchange visitor.

Exec. Order § 3(c).

Section 6 of the Executive Order suspends the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program for 120 days. The suspension applies both to travel into the United States and to decisions on applications for refugee status for the same period. *See* Exec. Order § 6(a). It excludes refugee applicants who were formally scheduled for transit by the Department of State before the March 16, 2017 effective date. Like the 90-day suspension, the 120-day suspension includes a waiver provision that allows the Secretaries of State and DHS to admit refugee applicants on a case-by-case basis. *See* Exec. Order § 6(c). The Executive Order identifies examples of circumstances in which waivers may be warranted, including: where

the admission of the individual would allow the United States to conform its conduct to a pre-existing international agreement or denying admission would cause undue hardship. Exec. Order § 6(c). Unlike Executive Order No. 13,769, the new Executive Order does not expressly refer to an individual's status as a "religious minority" or refer to any particular religion, and it does not include a Syria-specific ban on refugees.

Section 1 states that the purpose of the Executive Order is to "protect [United States] citizens from terrorist attacks, including those committed by foreign nationals." Section 1(h) identifies two examples of terrorism-related crimes committed in the United States by persons entering the country either "legally on visas" or "as refugees":

[1] In January 2013, two Iraqi nationals admitted to the United States as refugees in 2009 were sentenced to 40 years and to life in prison, respectively, for multiple terrorism-related offenses.
[2] [I]n October 2014, a native of Somalia who had been brought to the United States as a child refugee and later became a naturalized United States citizen was sentenced to 30 years in prison for attempting to use a weapon of mass destruction[.]

Exec. Order § 1(h).

By its terms, the Executive Order also represents a response to the Ninth Circuit's decision in *Washington v. Trump*. See 847 F.3d 1151. According to the Government, it "clarifies and narrows the scope of Executive action regarding

immigration, extinguishes the need for emergent consideration, and eliminates the potential constitutional concerns identified by the Ninth Circuit.” *See* Notice of Filing of Executive Order 4–5, ECF No. 56.

It is with this backdrop that we turn to consideration of Plaintiffs’ restraining order application.

II. Plaintiffs’ Motion For TRO

Plaintiffs’ Second Amended Complaint (ECF No. 64) and Motion for TRO (ECF No. 65) contend that portions of the new Executive Order suffer from the same infirmities as those provisions of Executive Order No. 13,769 enjoined in *Washington*, 847 F.3d 1151. Once more, the State asserts that the Executive Order inflicts constitutional and statutory injuries upon its residents, employers, and educational institutions, while Dr. Elshikh alleges injuries on behalf of himself, his family, and members of his Mosque. SAC ¶ 1.

Plaintiffs allege that the Executive Order subjects portions of the State’s population, including Dr. Elshikh and his family, to discrimination in violation of both the Constitution and the INA, denying them their right, among other things, to associate with family members overseas on the basis of their religion and national origin. The State purports that the Executive Order has injured its institutions,

economy, and sovereign interest in maintaining the separation between church and state. SAC ¶¶ 4–5.

According to Plaintiffs, the Executive order also results in “their having to live in a country and in a State where there is the perception that the Government has established a disfavored religion.” SAC ¶ 5. Plaintiffs assert that by singling out nationals from the six predominantly Muslim countries, the Executive Order causes harm by stigmatizing not only immigrants and refugees, but also Muslim citizens of the United States. Plaintiffs point to public statements by the President and his advisors regarding the implementation of a “Muslim ban,” which Plaintiffs contend is the tacit and illegitimate motivation underlying the Executive Order. *See* SAC ¶¶ 35–51. For example, Plaintiffs point to the following statements made contemporaneously with the implementation of Executive Order No. 13,769 and in its immediate aftermath:

48. In an interview on January 25, 2017, Mr. Trump discussed his plans to implement “extreme vetting” of people seeking entry into the United States. He remarked: “[N]o, it’s not the Muslim ban. But it’s countries that have tremendous terror. . . . [I]t’s countries that people are going to come in and cause us tremendous problems.”

49. Two days later, on January 27, 2017, President Trump signed an Executive Order entitled, “Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States.”

50. The first Executive Order [No. 13,769] was issued without a notice and comment period and without interagency review. Moreover, the first Executive Order was issued with little explanation of how it could further its stated objective.

51. When signing the first Executive Order [No. 13,769], President Trump read the title, looked up, and said: “We all know what that means.” President Trump said he was “establishing a new vetting measure to keep radical Islamic terrorists out of the United States of America,” and that: “We don’t want them here.”

....

58. In a January 27, 2017 interview with Christian Broadcasting Network, President Trump said that persecuted Christians would be given priority under the first Executive Order. He said (once again, falsely): “Do you know if you were a Christian in Syria it was impossible, at least very tough to get into the United States? If you were a Muslim you could come in, but if you were a Christian, it was almost impossible and the reason that was so unfair, everybody was persecuted in all fairness, but they were chopping off the heads of everybody but more so the Christians. And I thought it was very, very unfair. So we are going to help them.”

59. The day after signing the first Executive Order [No. 13,769], President Trump’s advisor, Rudolph Giuliani, explained on television how the Executive Order came to be. He said: “When [Mr. Trump] first announced it, he said, ‘Muslim ban.’ He called me up. He said, ‘Put a commission together. Show me the right way to do it legally.’”

60. The President and his spokespersons defended the rushed nature of their issuance of the first Executive Order [No. 13,769] on January 27, 2017, by saying that their urgency was imperative to stop the inflow of dangerous persons to the United States. On January 30, 2017, President Trump tweeted: “If the ban were

announced with a one week notice, the ‘bad’ would rush into our country during that week.” In a forum on January 30, 2017 at George Washington University, White House spokesman Sean Spicer said: “At the end of the day, what was the other option? To rush it out quickly, telegraph it five days so that people could rush into this country and undermine the safety of our nation?” On February 9, 2017, President Trump claimed he had sought a one-month delay between signing and implementation, but was told by his advisors that “you can’t do that because then people are gonna pour in before the toughness.”

SAC ¶¶ 48–51, 58–60 (footnotes and citations omitted).

Plaintiffs also highlight statements by members of the Administration prior to the signing of the new Executive Order, seeking to tie its content to Executive Order No. 13,769 enjoined by the *Washington* TRO. In particular, they note that:

On February 21, Senior Advisor to the President, Stephen Miller, told Fox News that the new travel ban would have the same effect as the old one. He said: “Fundamentally, you’re still going to have the same basic policy outcome for the country, but you’re going to be responsive to a lot of very technical issues that were brought up by the court and those will be addressed. But in terms of protecting the country, those basic policies are still going to be in effect.”

SAC ¶ 74(a) (citing *Miller: New order will be responsive to the judicial ruling; Rep. Ron DeSantis: Congress has gotten off to a slow start, The First 100 Days* (Fox News television broadcast Feb. 21, 2017), transcript *available at* <https://goo.gl/wcHvHH> (rush transcript)). Plaintiffs argue that, in light of these and similar statements “where the President himself has repeatedly and publicly

espoused an improper motive for his actions, the President's action must be invalidated." Pls.' Mem. in Supp. of Mot. for TRO 2, ECF No. 65-1.

In addition to these accounts, Plaintiffs describe a draft report from the DHS, which they contend undermines the purported national security rationale for the Executive Order. *See* SAC ¶ 61 (citing SAC, Ex. 10, ECF No. 64-10). The February 24, 2017 draft report states that citizenship is an "unlikely indicator" of terrorism threats against the United States and that very few individuals from the seven countries included in Executive Order No. 13,769 had carried out or attempted to carry out terrorism activities in the United States. SAC ¶ 61 (citing SAC, Ex. 10, ECF No. 64-10). According to Plaintiffs, this and other evidence demonstrates the Administration's pretextual justification for the Executive Order.

Plaintiffs assert the following causes of action: (1) violation of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment (Count I); (2) violation of the equal protection guarantees of the Fifth Amendment's Due Process Clause on the basis of religion, national origin, nationality, or alienage (Count II); (3) violation of the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment based upon substantive due process rights (Count III); (4) violation of the procedural due process guarantees of the Fifth Amendment (Count IV); (5) violation of the INA due to discrimination on the basis of nationality, and exceeding the President's authority under Sections 1182(f) and

1185(a) (Count V); (6) substantially burdening the exercise of religion in violation of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (“RFRA”), 42 U.S.C. § 200bb-1(a) (Count VI); (7) substantive violation of the Administrative Procedure Act (“APA”), 5 U.S.C. § 706 (2)(A)–(C), through violations of the Constitution, INA, and RFRA (Count VII); and (8) procedural violation of the APA, 5 U.S.C. § 706 (2)(D) (Count VIII).

Plaintiffs contend that these alleged violations of law have caused and continue to cause them irreparable injury. To that end, through their Motion for TRO, Plaintiffs seek to temporarily enjoin Defendants from enforcing and implementing Sections 2 and 6 of the Executive Order. Mot. for TRO 4, ECF No. 65. They argue that “both of these sections are unlawful in all of their applications.” Section 2 discriminates on the basis of nationality, Sections 2 and 6 exceed the President’s authority under 8 U.S.C. §§ 1182(f) and 1185(a), and both provisions are motivated by anti-Muslim animus. TRO Mem. 50, Dkt. No. 65-1. Moreover, Plaintiffs assert that both sections infringe “on the ‘due process rights’ of numerous U.S. citizens and institutions by barring the entry of non-citizens with whom they have close relationships.” TRO Mem. 50 (quoting *Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1166).

Defendants oppose the Motion for TRO. The Court held a hearing on the matter on March 15, 2017, before the Executive Order was scheduled to take effect.

DISCUSSION

I. Plaintiffs Have Demonstrated Standing At This Preliminary Phase

A. Article III Standing

Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution permits federal courts to consider only “cases” and “controversies.” *Massachusetts v. EPA*, 549 U.S. 497, 516 (2007). “Those two words confine ‘the business of federal courts to questions presented in an adversary context and in a form historically viewed as capable of resolution through the judicial process.’” *Id.* (quoting *Flast v. Cohen*, 392 U.S. 83, 95 (1968)). “[T]o satisfy Article III’s standing requirements, a plaintiff must show (1) it has suffered an ‘injury in fact’ that is (a) concrete and particularized and (b) actual or imminent, not conjectural or hypothetical; (2) the injury is fairly traceable to the challenged action of the defendant; and (3) it is likely, as opposed to merely speculative, that the injury will be redressed by a favorable decision.” *Friends of the Earth, Inc. v. Laidlaw Envtl. Servs. (TOC), Inc.*, 528 U.S. 167, 180–81 (2000) (quoting *Lujan v. Defenders of Wildlife*, 504 U.S. 555, 560–61 (1992)).

“At bottom, ‘the gist of the question of standing’ is whether petitioners have ‘such a personal stake in the outcome of the controversy as to assure that concrete

adverseness which sharpens the presentation of issues upon which the court so largely depends for illumination.” *Catholic League for Religious & Civil Rights v. City & Cty. of San Francisco*, 624 F.3d 1043, 1048 (9th Cir. 2010) (en banc) (quoting *Massachusetts*, 549 U.S. at 517)).

“At this very preliminary stage of the litigation, the [Plaintiffs] may rely on the allegations in their Complaint and whatever other evidence they submitted in support of their TRO motion to meet their burden.” *Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1159 (citing *Lujan*, 504 U.S. at 561). “With these allegations and evidence, the [Plaintiffs] must make a ‘clear showing of each element of standing.’” *Id.* (quoting *Townley v. Miller*, 722 F.3d 1128, 1133 (9th Cir. 2013), *cert. denied*, 134 S. Ct. 907 (2014)). At this preliminary stage of the proceedings, on the record presented, Plaintiffs meet the threshold Article III standing requirements.

B. The State Has Standing

The State alleges standing based both upon injuries to its proprietary interests and to its quasi-sovereign interests, *i.e.*, in its role as *parens patriae*.⁷ Just as the

⁷The State’s *parens patriae* theory focuses on the Executive Order

subject[ing] citizens of Hawai‘i like Dr. Elshikh to discrimination and marginalization while denying all residents of the State the benefits of a pluralistic and inclusive society. Hawai‘i has a quasi-sovereign interest in ‘securing [its] residents from the harmful effects of discrimination.’ *Alfred L. Snapp & Son v. Puerto Rico*, 458 U.S. 592, 609 (1982). The [Executive]

Ninth Circuit panel in *Washington* concluded on a similar record that the alleged harms to the states' proprietary interests as operators of their public universities were sufficient to support standing, the Court concludes likewise here. The Court does not reach the State's alternative standing theory based on the protection of the interests of its citizens as *parens patriae*. *See Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1168 n.5 (“The States have asserted other proprietary interests and also presented an alternative standing theory based on their ability to advance the interests of their citizens as *parens patriae*. Because we conclude that the States' proprietary interests as operators of their public universities are sufficient to support standing, we need not reach those arguments.”).

Hawaii primarily asserts two proprietary injuries stemming from the Executive Order. First, the State alleges the impacts that the Executive Order will have on the University of Hawaii system, both financial and intangible. The University is an arm of the State. *See* Haw. Const. art. 10, §§ 5, 6; Haw. Rev. Stat. (“HRS”) § 304A-103. The University recruits students, permanent faculty, and visiting faculty from the targeted countries. *See, e.g.*, Suppl. Decl. of Risa E. Dickson ¶¶ 6–8, Mot. for TRO, Ex. D-1, ECF No. 66-6. Students or faculty

Order also harms Hawai'i by debasing its culture and tradition of ethnic diversity and inclusion.

TRO Mem. 48, ECF No. 65-1.

suspended from entry are deterred from studying or teaching at the University, now and in the future, irrevocably damaging their personal and professional lives and harming the educational institutions themselves. *See id.*

There is also evidence of a financial impact from the Executive Order on the University system. The University recruits from the six affected countries. It currently has twenty-three graduate students, several permanent faculty members, and twenty-nine visiting faculty members from the six countries listed. Suppl. Dickson Decl. ¶ 7. The State contends that any prospective recruits who are without visas as of March 16, 2017 will not be able to travel to Hawaii to attend the University. As a result, the University will not be able to collect the tuition that those students would have paid. Suppl. Dickson Decl. ¶ 8 (“Individuals who are neither legal permanent residents nor current visa holders will be entirely precluded from considering our institution.”). These individuals’ spouses, parents, and children likewise would be unable to join them in the United States. The State asserts that the Executive Order also risks “dissuad[ing] some of [the University’s] current professors or scholars from continuing their scholarship in the United States and at [the University].” Suppl. Dickson Decl. ¶ 9.

The State argues that the University will also suffer non-monetary losses, including damage to the collaborative exchange of ideas among people of different

religions and national backgrounds on which the State’s educational institutions depend. Suppl. Dickson Decl. ¶¶ 9–10, ECF no. 66-6; *see also* Original Dickson Decl. ¶ 13, Mot. for TRO, Ex. D-2, ECF, 66-7; SAC ¶ 94. This will impair the University’s ability to recruit and accept the most qualified students and faculty, undermine its commitment to being “one of the most diverse institutions of higher education” in the world, Suppl. Dickson Decl. ¶ 11, and grind to a halt certain academic programs, including the University’s Persian Language and Culture program, *id.* ¶ 8. *Cf. Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1160 (“[The universities] have a mission of ‘global engagement’ and rely on such visiting students, scholars, and faculty to advance their educational goals.”).

These types of injuries are nearly indistinguishable from those found to support standing in the Ninth Circuit’s decision in *Washington*. *See* 847 F.3d at 1161 (“The necessary connection can be drawn in at most two logical steps: (1) the Executive Order prevents nationals of seven countries from entering Washington and Minnesota; (2) as a result, some of these people will not enter state universities, some will not join those universities as faculty, some will be prevented from performing research, and some will not be permitted to return if they leave. And we have no difficulty concluding that the States’ injuries would be redressed if they

could obtain the relief they ask for: a declaration that the Executive Order violates the Constitution and an injunction barring its enforcement.”).

The second proprietary injury alleged Hawaii alleges is to the State’s main economic driver: tourism. The State contends that the Executive Order will “have the effect of depressing international travel to and tourism in Hawai‘i,” which “directly harms Hawaii’s businesses and, in turn, the State’s revenue.” SAC ¶ 100, ECF No. 64. *See also* Suppl. Decl. of Luis P. Salaveria ¶¶ 6–10, Mot. for TRO, Ex. C-1, ECF No. 66-4 (“I expect, given the uncertainty the new executive order and its predecessor have caused to international travel generally, that these changing policies may depress tourism, business travel, and financial investments in Hawaii.”). The State points to preliminary data from the Hawaii Tourism Authority, which suggests that during the interval of time that the first Executive Order was in place, the number of visitors to Hawai‘i from the Middle East dropped (data including visitors from Iran, Iraq, Syria and Yemen). *See* Suppl. Decl. of George Szigeti, ¶¶ 5–8, Mot. for TRO, Ex. B-1, ECF No. 66-2; *see also* SAC ¶ 100 (identifying 278 visitors in January 2017, compared to 348 visitors from that same region in January 2016).⁸ Tourism accounted for \$15 billion in spending in 2015,

⁸This data relates to the prior Executive Order No. 13,769. At this preliminary stage, the Court looks to the earlier order’s effect on tourism in order to gauge the economic impact of the new Executive Order, while understanding that the provisions of the two differ. Because the new

and a decline in tourism has a direct effect on the State's revenue. *See* SAC ¶ 18.

Because there is preliminary evidence that losses of current and future revenue are traceable to the Executive Order, this injury to the State's proprietary interest also appears sufficient to confer standing. *Cf. Texas v. United States*, 809 F.3d 134, 155–56 (5th Cir. 2015), *aff'd by an equally divided Court*, 136 S. Ct. 2271 (2016) (holding that the “financial loss[es]” that Texas would bear, due to having to grant drivers licenses, constituted a concrete and immediate injury for standing purposes).

For purposes of the instant Motion for TRO, the State has preliminarily demonstrated that: (1) its universities will suffer monetary damages and intangible harms; (2) the State's economy is likely to suffer a loss of revenue due to a decline in tourism; (3) such harms can be sufficiently linked to the Executive Order; and (4) the State would not suffer the harms to its proprietary interests in the absence of implementation of the Executive Order. Accordingly, at this early stage of the litigation, the State has satisfied the requirements of Article III standing.⁹

Executive Order has yet to take effect, its precise economic impact cannot presently be determined.

⁹To the extent the Government argues that the State does not have standing to bring an Establishment Clause violation on its own behalf, the Court does not reach this argument. *Cf. Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1160 n.4 (“The Government argues that the States may not bring Establishment Clause claims because they lack Establishment Clause rights. Even if we assume that States lack such rights, an issue we need not decide, that is irrelevant in this case because the States are asserting the rights of their students and professors. Male doctors do not have personal rights in abortion and yet any physician may assert those rights on behalf of his female patients.” (citing *Singleton v. Wulff*, 428 U.S. 106, 118 (1976))). Unlike in *Washington* where there was no

C. Dr. Elshikh Has Standing

Dr. Elshikh is an American citizen of Egyptian descent and has been a resident of Hawai'i for over a decade. Declaration of Ismail Elshikh ¶ 1, Mot. for TRO, Ex. A, ECF No. 66-1. He is the Imam of the Muslim Association of Hawai'i and a leader within Hawaii's Islamic community. Elshikh Decl. ¶ 2. Dr. Elshikh's wife is of Syrian descent, and their young children are American citizens. Dr. Elshikh and his family are Muslim. Elshikh Decl. ¶¶ 1, 3. His mother-in-law, also Muslim, is a Syrian national without a visa, who last visited the family in Hawaii in 2005. Elshikh Decl. ¶¶ 4–5.

In September 2015, Dr. Elshikh's wife filed an I-130 Petition for Alien Relative on behalf of her mother. On January 31, 2017, Dr. Elshikh called the National Visa Center and learned that his mother-in-law's visa application had been put on hold and would not proceed to the next stage of the process because of the implementation of Executive Order No. 13,769. Elshikh Decl. ¶ 4. Thereafter, on March 2, 2017, during the pendency of the nationwide injunction imposed by *Washington*, Dr. Elshikh received an email from the National Visa Center advising that his mother-in-law's visa application had progressed to the next stage and that her interview would be scheduled at an embassy overseas. Although no date was

individual plaintiff, Dr. Elshikh has standing to assert an Establishment Clause violation, as discussed herein.

given, the communication stated that most interviews occur within three months. Elshikh Decl. ¶ 4. Dr. Elshikh fears that although she has made progress toward obtaining a visa, his mother-in-law will be unable to enter the country if the new Executive Order is implemented. Elshikh Decl. ¶ 4. According to Plaintiffs, despite her pending visa application, Dr. Elshikh's mother-in-law would be barred in the short-term from entering the United States under the terms of Section 2(c) of the Executive Order, unless she is granted a waiver, because she is not a current visa holder.

Dr. Elshikh has standing to assert his claims, including an Establishment Clause violation. Courts observe that the injury-in-fact prerequisite can be “particularly elusive” in Establishment Clause cases because plaintiffs do not typically allege an invasion of a physical or economic interest. Despite that, a plaintiff may nonetheless show an injury that is sufficiently concrete, particularized, and actual to confer standing. *See Catholic League*, 624 F.3d at 1048–49; *Vasquez v. Los Angeles Cty.*, 487 F.3d 1246, 1250 (9th Cir. 2007) (“The concept of a ‘concrete’ injury is particularly elusive in the Establishment Clause context.”). “The standing question, in plain English, is whether adherents to a religion have standing to challenge an official condemnation by their government of their religious views[.] Their ‘personal stake’ assures the ‘concrete adverseness’

required.” *Catholic League*, 624 F.3d at 1048–49. In Establishment Clause cases—

[e]ndorsement sends a message to nonadherents that they are outsiders, not full members of the political community, and an accompanying message to adherents that they are insiders, favored members of the political community. Disapproval sends the opposite message.” Plaintiffs aver that not only does the resolution make them feel like second-class citizens, but that their participation in the political community will be chilled by the [government’s] hostility to their church and their religion.

Id. at 1048–49 (quoting *Lynch v. Donnelly*, 465 U.S. 668, 688 (1984) (O’Connor, J., concurring)). Dr. Elshikh attests that he and his family suffer just such injuries here. He declares that the effects of the Executive Order are “devastating to me, my wife and children.” Elshikh Decl. ¶ 6, ECF No. 66-1.

Like his children, Dr. Elshikh is “deeply saddened by the message that [both Executive Orders] convey—that a broad travel-ban is ‘needed’ to prevent people from certain Muslim countries from entering the United States.” Elshikh Decl. ¶ 1 (“Because of my allegiance to America, and my deep belief in the American ideals of democracy and equality, I am deeply saddened by the passage of the Executive Order barring nationals from now-six Muslim majority countries from entering the United States.”); *id.* ¶ 3 ([“My children] are deeply affected by the knowledge that the United States—their own country—would discriminate against individuals who are of the same ethnicity as them, including members of their own family, and who

hold the same religious beliefs. They do not fully understand why this is happening, but they feel hurt, confused, and sad.”).

“Muslims in the Hawai‘i Islamic community feel that the new Executive Order targets Muslim citizens because of their religious views and national origin. Dr. Elshikh believes that, as a result of the new Executive Order, he and members of the Mosque will not be able to associate as freely with those of other faiths.” SAC ¶ 90. These injuries are sufficiently personal, concrete, particularized, and actual to confer standing in the Establishment Clause context.

The final two aspects of Article III standing—causation and redressability—are also satisfied. Dr. Elshikh’s injuries are traceable to the new Executive Order and, if Plaintiffs prevail, a decision enjoining portions of the Executive Order would redress that injury. *See Catholic League*, 624 F.3d at 1053. At this preliminary stage of the litigation, Dr. Elshikh has accordingly carried his burden to establish standing under Article III.

II. Ripeness

“While standing is primarily concerned with who is a proper party to litigate a particular matter, ripeness addresses when litigation may occur.” *Lee v. Oregon*, 107 F.3d 1382, 1387 (9th Cir. 1997). “[I]n many cases, ripeness coincides squarely with standing’s injury in fact prong.” *Thomas v. Anchorage Equal Rights Comm’n*,

220 F.3d 1134, 1138 (9th Cir. 2000) (en banc). In fact, the ripeness inquiry is often “characterized as standing on a timeline.” *Id.* “A claim is not ripe for adjudication if it rests upon ‘contingent future events that may not occur as anticipated, or indeed may not occur at all.’” *Texas v. United States*, 523 U.S. 296, 300 (1998) (quoting *Thomas v. Union Carbide Agric. Prods. Co.*, 473 U.S. 568, 580–81 (1985)).

The Government argues that “the only concrete injury Elshikh alleges is that the Order ‘will prevent [his] mother-in-law’—a Syrian national who lacks a visa—from visiting Elshikh and his family in Hawaii.” These claims are not ripe, according to the Government, because there is a visa waiver process that Elshikh’s mother-in-law has yet to even initiate. Govt. Mem. in Opp’n to Mot. for TRO (citing SAC ¶ 85), ECF No. 145.

The Government’s premise is not true. Dr. Elshikh alleges direct, concrete injuries to both himself and his immediate family that are independent of his mother-in-law’s visa status. *See, e.g.*, SAC ¶¶ 88–90; Elshikh Decl. ¶¶ 1, 3.¹⁰ These alleged injuries have already occurred and will continue to occur once the

¹⁰There is no dispute that Dr. Elshikh’s mother-in-law does not currently possess a valid visa, would be barred from entering as a Syrian national by Section 2(c) of the Executive Order, and has not yet applied for a waiver under Section 3(c) of the Executive Order. Since the Executive Order is not yet effective, it is difficult to see how she could. None of these propositions, however, alter the Court’s finding that Dr. Elshikh has sufficiently established, at this preliminary stage, that he has suffered an injury-in-fact separate and apart from his mother-in-law that is sufficiently concrete, particularized, and actual to confer standing.

Executive Order is implemented and enforced—the injuries are not contingent ones. *Cf. 281 Care Comm. v. Arneson*, 638 F.3d 621, 631 (8th Cir. 2011) (“Plaintiffs’ alleged injury is not based on speculation about a particular future prosecution or the defeat of a particular ballot question. . . . Here, the issue presented requires no further factual development, is largely a legal question, and chills allegedly protected First Amendment expression.”); *see also Arizona Right to Life Political Action Comm. v. Bayless*, 320 F.3d 1002, 1006 (9th Cir. 2003) (“[W]hen the threatened enforcement effort implicates First Amendment [free speech] rights, the inquiry tilts dramatically toward a finding of standing.”).

The Court turns to the merits of Plaintiffs’ Motion for TRO.

III. Legal Standard: Preliminary Injunctive Relief

The underlying purpose of a TRO is to preserve the status quo and prevent irreparable harm before a preliminary injunction hearing is held. *Granny Goose Foods*, 415 U.S. 423, 439 (1974); *see also Reno Air Racing Ass’n v. McCord*, 452 F.3d 1126, 1130–31 (9th Cir. 2006).

The standard for issuing a temporary restraining order is substantially identical to the standard for issuing a preliminary injunction. *See Stuhlberg Int’l Sales Co. v. John D. Brush & Co.*, 240 F.3d 832, 839 n.7 (9th Cir. 2001). A “plaintiff seeking a preliminary injunction must establish that he is likely to succeed

on the merits, that he is likely to suffer irreparable harm in the absence of preliminary relief, that the balance of equities tips in his favor, and that an injunction is in the public interest.” *Winter v. Nat. Res. Def. Council, Inc.*, 555 U.S. 7, 20 (2008) (citation omitted).

“[I]f a plaintiff can only show that there are ‘serious questions going to the merits’—a lesser showing than likelihood of success on the merits—then a preliminary injunction may still issue if the ‘balance of hardships tips *sharply* in the plaintiff’s favor,’ and the other two *Winter* factors are satisfied.” *Shell Offshore, Inc. v. Greenpeace, Inc.*, 709 F.3d 1281, 1291 (9th Cir. 2013) (quoting *Alliance for the Wild Rockies v. Cottrell*, 632 F.3d 1127, 1135 (9th Cir. 2011) (emphasis by *Shell Offshore*)).

For the reasons that follow, Plaintiffs have met this burden here.

IV. Analysis of TRO Factors: Likelihood of Success on the Merits

The Court turns to whether Plaintiffs sufficiently establish a likelihood of success on the merits of their Count I claim that the Executive Order violates the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. Because a reasonable, objective observer—enlightened by the specific historical context, contemporaneous public statements, and specific sequence of events leading to its issuance—would conclude that the Executive Order was issued with a purpose to disfavor a particular religion,

in spite of its stated, religiously-neutral purpose, the Court finds that Plaintiffs, and Dr. Elshikh in particular, are likely to succeed on the merits of their Establishment Clause claim.¹¹

A. Establishment Clause

“The clearest command of the Establishment Clause is that one religious denomination cannot be officially preferred over another.” *Larson v. Valente*, 456 U.S. 228, 244 (1982). To determine whether the Executive Order runs afoul of that command, the Court is guided by the three-part test for Establishment Clause claims set forth in *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602, 612-13 (1971). According to *Lemon*, government action (1) must have a primary secular purpose, (2) may not have the principal effect of advancing or inhibiting religion, and (3) may not foster excessive entanglement with religion. *Id.* “Failure to satisfy any one of the three prongs of the *Lemon* test is sufficient to invalidate the challenged law or practice.” *Newdow v. Rio Linda Union Sch. Dist.*, 597 F.3d 1007, 1076–77 (9th Cir. 2010). Because the Executive Order at issue here cannot survive the secular purpose prong, the Court does not reach the balance of the criteria. *See id.* (noting that it is unnecessary to reach the second or third *Lemon* criteria if the challenged law or practice fails the first test).

¹¹The Court expresses no views on Plaintiffs’ due-process or INA-based statutory claims.

B. The Executive Order's Primary Purpose

It is undisputed that the Executive Order does not facially discriminate for or against any particular religion, or for or against religion versus non-religion. There is no express reference, for instance, to any religion nor does the Executive Order—unlike its predecessor—contain any term or phrase that can be reasonably characterized as having a religious origin or connotation.

Indeed, the Government defends the Executive Order principally because of its religiously neutral text — “[i]t applies to six countries that Congress and the prior Administration determined posed special risks of terrorism. [The Executive Order] applies to *all* individuals in those countries, regardless of their religion.” Gov’t. Mem. in Opp’n 40. The Government does not stop there. By its reading, the Executive Order could not have been religiously motivated because “the six countries represent only a small fraction of the world’s 50 Muslim-majority nations, and are home to less than 9% of the global Muslim population . . . [T]he suspension covers *every* national of those countries, including millions of non-Muslim individuals[.]” Gov’t. Mem. in Opp’n 42.

The illogic of the Government’s contentions is palpable. The notion that one can demonstrate animus toward any group of people only by targeting all of them at once is fundamentally flawed. The Court declines to relegate its Establishment

Clause analysis to a purely mathematical exercise. *See Aziz*, 2017 WL 580855, at *9 (rejecting the argument that “the Court cannot infer an anti-Muslim animus because [Executive Order No. 13,769] does not affect all, or even most, Muslims,” because “the Supreme Court has never reduced its Establishment Clause jurisprudence to a mathematical exercise. It is a discriminatory purpose that matters, no matter how inefficient the execution” (citation omitted)). Equally flawed is the notion that the Executive Order cannot be found to have targeted Islam because it applies to *all individuals* in the six referenced countries. It is undisputed, using the primary source upon which the Government itself relies, that these six countries have overwhelmingly Muslim populations that range from 90.7% to 99.8%.¹² It would therefore be no paradigmatic leap to conclude that targeting these countries likewise targets Islam. Certainly, it would be inappropriate to conclude, as the Government does, that it does not.

The Government compounds these shortcomings by suggesting that the Executive Order’s neutral text is what this Court must rely on to evaluate purpose. Govt. Mem. in Opp’n at 42–43 (“[C]ourts may not ‘look behind the exercise of [Executive] discretion’ taken ‘on the basis of a facially legitimate and bona fide

¹²See Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures Project, Muslim Population by Country (2010), available at <http://www.globalreligiousfutures.org/religions/muslims>.

reason.’’). Only a few weeks ago, the Ninth Circuit commanded otherwise: “It is well established that evidence of purpose beyond the face of the challenged law may be considered in evaluating Establishment and Equal Protection Clause claims.” *Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1167–68 (citing *Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye, Inc. v. City of Hialeah*, 508 U.S. 520, 534 (1993) (“Official action that targets religious conduct for distinctive treatment cannot be shielded by mere compliance with the requirement of facial neutrality.”); *Larson*, 456 U.S. at 254–55 (holding that a facially neutral statute violated the Establishment Clause in light of legislative history demonstrating an intent to apply regulations only to minority religions); and *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metro. Hous. Dev. Corp.*, 429 U.S. 252, 266–68 (1977) (explaining that circumstantial evidence of intent, including the historical background of the decision and statements by decisionmakers, may be considered in evaluating whether a governmental action was motivated by a discriminatory purpose)). The Supreme Court has been even more emphatic: courts may not “turn a blind eye to the context in which [a] policy arose.” *McCreary Cty. v. Am. Civil Liberties Union of Ky.*, 545 U.S. 844, 866 (2005) (citation and quotation signals omitted).¹³ “[H]istorical context and ‘the specific sequence of events leading up

¹³In *McCreary*, the Supreme Court examined whether the posting of successive Ten Commandments displays at two county courthouses violated the Establishment Clause. 545 U.S. at 850–82.

to” the adoption of a challenged policy are relevant considerations. *Id.* at 862; *see also Aziz*, 2017 WL 580855, at *7.

A review of the historical background here makes plain why the Government wishes to focus on the Executive Order’s text, rather than its context. The record before this Court is unique. It includes significant and unrebutted evidence of religious animus driving the promulgation of the Executive Order and its related predecessor. For example—

In March 2016, Mr. Trump said, during an interview, “I think Islam hates us.” Mr. Trump was asked, “Is there a war between the West and radical Islam, or between the West and Islam itself?” He replied: “It’s very hard to separate. Because you don’t know who’s who.”

SAC ¶ 41 (citing *Anderson Cooper 360 Degrees: Exclusive Interview With Donald Trump* (CNN television broadcast Mar. 9, 2016, 8:00 PM ET), transcript *available at* <https://goo.gl/y7s2kQ>)). In that same interview, Mr. Trump stated: “But there’s a tremendous hatred. And we have to be very vigilant. We have to be very careful. And we can’t allow people coming into this country who have this hatred of the United States. . . [a]nd of people that are not Muslim.”

Plaintiffs allege that “[l]ater, as the presumptive Republican nominee, Mr. Trump began using facially neutral language, at times, to describe the Muslim ban.” SAC ¶ 42. For example, they point to a July 24, 2016 interview:

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Mr. Trump was asked: “The Muslim ban. I think you’ve pulled back from it, but you tell me.” Mr. Trump responded: “I don’t think it’s a rollback. In fact, you could say it’s an expansion. I’m looking now at territories. People were so upset when I used the word Muslim. Oh, you can’t use the word Muslim. Remember this. And I’m okay with that, because I’m talking territory instead of Muslim.”

SAC ¶ 44; Ex. 7 (*Meet the Press* (NBC television broadcast July 24, 2016), transcript *available at* <https://goo.gl/jHc6aU>). And during an October 9, 2016 televised presidential debate, Mr. Trump was asked:

“Your running mate said this week that the Muslim ban is no longer your position. Is that correct? And if it is, was it a mistake to have a religious test?” Mr. Trump replied: “The Muslim ban is something that in some form has morphed into a[n] extreme vetting from certain areas of the world.” When asked to clarify whether “the Muslim ban still stands,” Mr. Trump said, “It’s called extreme vetting.”

SAC ¶ 45 (citing The American Presidency Project, *Presidential Debates: Presidential Debate at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri* (Oct. 9, 2016), *available at* <https://goo.gl/ilzf0A>)).

The Government appropriately cautions that, in determining purpose, courts should not look into the “veiled psyche” and “secret motives” of government decisionmakers and may not undertake a “judicial psychoanalysis of a drafter’s heart of hearts.” Govt. Opp’n at 40 (citing *McCreary*, 545 U.S. at 862). The Government need not fear. The remarkable facts at issue here require no such

impermissible inquiry. For instance, there is nothing “*veiled*” about this press release: “Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States.[.]” SAC ¶ 38, Ex. 6 (Press Release, Donald J. Trump for President, *Donald J. Trump Statement on Preventing Muslim Immigration* (Dec. 7, 2015), *available at* <https://goo.gl/D3OdJJ>). Nor is there anything “*secret*” about the Executive’s motive specific to the issuance of the Executive Order:

Rudolph Giuliani explained on television how the Executive Order came to be. He said: “When [Mr. Trump] first announced it, he said, ‘Muslim ban.’ He called me up. He said, ‘Put a commission together. Show me the right way to do it legally.’”

SAC ¶ 59, Ex. 8. On February 21, 2017, commenting on the then-upcoming revision to the Executive Order, the President’s Senior Adviser, Stephen Miller, stated, “Fundamentally, [despite “technical” revisions meant to address the Ninth Circuit’s concerns in *Washington*,] you’re still going to have the same basic policy outcome [as the first].” SAC ¶ 74.

These plainly-worded statements,¹⁴ made in the months leading up to and contemporaneous with the signing of the Executive Order, and, in many cases, made

¹⁴There are many more. *See, e.g.*, Br. of The Roderick and Solange MacArthur Justice Center as Amicus Curiae in Supp. of Pls.’ Mot. for TRO, ECF No. 204, at 19-20 (“It’s not unconstitutional keeping people out, frankly, and until we get a hold of what’s going on. And then if you look at Franklin Roosevelt, a respected president, highly respected. Take a look at Presidential proclamations back a long time ago, 2525, 2526, and 2527 what he was doing with Germans, Italians, and Japanese because he had to do it. Because look we are at war with radical Islam.”)

by the Executive himself, betray the Executive Order's stated secular purpose. Any reasonable, objective observer would conclude, as does the Court for purposes of the instant Motion for TRO, that the stated secular purpose of the Executive Order is, at the very least, "secondary to a religious objective" of temporarily suspending the entry of Muslims. *See McCreary*, 545 U.S. at 864.¹⁵

To emphasize these points, Plaintiffs assert that the stated national security reasons for the Executive Order are pretextual. Two examples of such pretext include the security rationales set forth in Section 1(h):

"[I]n January 2013, two Iraqi nationals admitted to the United States as refugees in 2009 were sentenced to 40 years and to life in prison, respectively, for multiple terrorism-related offenses." [Exec. Order] § 1(h). "And in October 2014, a native of Somalia who had been brought to the United States as a child refugee and later became a naturalized United States citizen was

(quoting Michael Barbaro and Alan Rappeport, *In Testy Exchange, Donald Trump Interrupts and 'Morning Joe' Cuts to Commercial*, New York Times (Dec. 8, 2015), *available at* <https://www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2015/12/08/in-testy-exchange-donaldtrump-interrupts-and-morning-joe-cuts-to-commercial/>); Br. of Muslim Advocates et al. as Amici Curiae in Supp. of Pls.' Mot. for TRO, ECF No. 198, at 10-11 ("On June 13, 2016, after the attack on a nightclub in Orlando, Florida, Mr. Trump said in a speech: 'I called for a ban after San Bernardino, and was met with great scorn and anger, but now many are saying I was right to do so.' Mr. Trump then specified that the Muslim ban would be 'temporary,' 'and apply to certain 'areas of the world when [sic] there is a proven history of terrorism against the United States, Europe or our allies, until we understand how to end these threats.'") (quoting Transcript: Donald Trump's national security speech, *available at* <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/06/transcript-donald-trump-national-security-speech-22427>).

¹⁵This Court is not the first to examine these issues. In *Aziz v. Trump*, United States District Court Judge Leonie Brinkema determined that plaintiffs were likely to succeed on the merits of their Establishment Clause claim as it related to Executive Order No. 13,769. Accordingly, Judge Brinkema granted the Commonwealth of Virginia's motion for preliminary injunction. *Aziz v. Trump*, ___ F. Supp. 3d ___, 2017 WL 580855, at *7-*10 (E.D. Va. Feb. 13, 2017).

sentenced to 30 years in prison for attempting to use a weapon of mass destruction[.]” *Id.* Iraq is no longer included in the ambit of the travel ban, *id.*, and the Order states that a waiver could be granted for a foreign national that is a “young child.” *Id.* § 3(c)(v).

TRO Mem. 13. Other indicia of pretext asserted by Plaintiffs include the delayed timing of the Executive Order, which detracts from the national security urgency claimed by the Administration, and the Executive Order’s focus on nationality, which could have the paradoxical effect of “bar[ring] entry by a Syrian national who has lived in Switzerland for decades, but not a Swiss national who has immigrated to Syria during its civil war,” revealing a “gross mismatch between the [Executive] Order’s ostensible purpose and its implementation and effects.” Pls.’ Reply 20 (citation omitted).

While these additional assertions certainly call the motivations behind the Executive Order into greater question,¹⁶ they are not necessary to the Court’s Establishment Clause determination. *See Aziz*, 2017 WL 580855, at *8 (the Establishment Clause concerns addressed by the district court’s order “do not involve an assessment of the merits of the president’s national security judgment. Instead, the question is whether [Executive Order No. 13,769] was animated by

¹⁶*See also* Br. of T.A., a U.S. Resident of Yemeni Descent, as Amicus Curiae in Supp. of Pls.’ Mot. for TRO, ECF No. 200, at 15-25 (detailing evidence contrary to the Executive Order’s national security justifications).

national security concerns at all, as opposed to the impermissible notion of, in the context of entry, disfavoring one religious group, and in the context of refugees, favoring another religious group”).

Nor does the Court’s preliminary determination foreclose future Executive action. As the Supreme Court noted in *McCreary*, in preliminarily enjoining the third iteration of a Ten Commandments display, “we do not decide that the [government’s] past actions forever taint any effort on their part to deal with the subject matter.” *McCreary*, 545 U.S. at 873–74; *see also Felix v. City of Bloomfield*, 841 F.3d 848, 863 (10th Cir. 2016) (“In other words, it is possible that a government may begin with an impermissible purpose, or create an unconstitutional effect, but later take affirmative actions to neutralize the endorsement message so that “adherence to a religion [is not] relevant in any way to a person’s standing in the political community.” (quoting *Lynch v. Donnelly*, 465 U.S. 668, 687 (1984) (O’Connor, J., concurring))). Here, it is not the case that the Administration’s past conduct must forever taint any effort by it to address the security concerns of the nation. Based upon the current record available, however, the Court cannot find the actions taken during the interval between revoked Executive Order No. 13,769 and the new Executive Order to be “genuine changes in constitutionally significant

conditions.” *McCreary*, 545 U.S. at 874.¹⁷ The Court recognizes that “purpose needs to be taken seriously under the Establishment Clause and needs to be understood in light of context; an implausible claim that governmental purpose has changed should not carry the day in a court of law any more than in a head with common sense.” *Id.* Yet, context may change during the course of litigation, and the Court is prepared to respond accordingly.

Last, the Court emphasizes that its preliminary assessment rests on the peculiar circumstances and specific historical record present here. *Cf. Aziz*, 2017 WL 580855, at *9 (“The Court’s conclusion rests on the highly particular ‘sequence of events’ leading to this specific [Executive Order No. 13,769] and the dearth of evidence indicating a national security purpose. The evidence in this record focuses on the president’s statements about a ‘Muslim ban’ and the link Giuliani

¹⁷The Tenth Circuit asked: “What would be enough to meet this standard?”

The case law does not yield a ready answer. But from the above principles we conclude that a government cure should be (1) purposeful, (2) public, and (3) at least as persuasive as the initial endorsement of religion. It should be purposeful enough for an objective observer to know, unequivocally, that the government does not endorse religion. It should be public enough so that people need not burrow into a difficult-to-access legislative record for evidence to assure themselves that the government is not endorsing a religious view. And it should be persuasive enough to countermand the preexisting message of religious endorsement.

Felix, 841 F.3d 863–64.

established between those statements and the [Executive Order].”) (citing *McCreary*, 545 U.S. at 862).

V. Analysis of TRO Factors: Irreparable Harm

Dr. Elshikh has made a preliminary showing of direct, concrete injuries to the exercise of his Establishment Clause rights. *See, e.g.*, SAC ¶¶ 88–90; Elshikh Decl. ¶¶ 1, 3. These alleged injuries have already occurred and likely will continue to occur upon implementation of the Executive Order.

Indeed, irreparable harm may be *presumed* with the finding of a violation of the First Amendment. *See Klein v. City of San Clemente*, 584 F.3d 1196, 1208 (9th Cir. 2009) (“The loss of First Amendment freedoms, for even minimal periods of time, unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury”) (quoting *Elrod v. Burns*, 427 U.S. 347, 373 (1976)); *see also Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1169 (citing *Melendres v. Arpaio*, 695 F.3d 990, 1002 (9th Cir. 2012) (“It is well established that the deprivation of constitutional rights ‘unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury.’”)) (additional citations omitted). Because Dr. Elshikh is likely to succeed on the merits of his Establishment Clause claim, the Court finds that the second factor of the *Winter* test is satisfied—that Dr. Elshikh is likely to suffer irreparable injury in the absence of a TRO.

VI. Analysis of TRO Factors: The Balance of Equities and Public Interest Weigh in Favor of Granting Emergency Relief

The final step in determining whether to grant the Plaintiffs' Motion for TRO is to assess the balance of equities and examine the general public interests that will be affected. Here, the substantial controversy surrounding this Executive Order, like its predecessor, illustrates that important public interests are implicated by each party's positions. *See Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1169. For example, the Government insists that the Executive Order is intended "to protect the Nation from terrorist activities by foreign nationals admitted to the United States[.]" Exec. Order, preamble. National security is unquestionably important to the public at large. Plaintiffs and the public, on the other hand, have a vested interest in the "free flow of travel, in avoiding separation of families, and in freedom from discrimination." *Washington*, 847 F.3d at 1169–70.

As discussed above, Plaintiffs have shown a strong likelihood of succeeding on their claim that the Executive Order violates First Amendment rights under the Constitution. "[I]t is always in the public interest to prevent the violation of a party's constitutional rights." *Melendres*, 695 F.3d at 1002 (emphasis added) (citing *Elrod*, 427 U.S. at 373); *Gordon v. Holder*, 721 F.3d 638, 653 (D.C. Cir. 2013) ("[E]nforcement of an unconstitutional law is always contrary to the public

interest.” (citing *Lamprecht v. FCC*, 958 F.2d 382, 390 (D.C. Cir. 1992); *G & V Lounge v. Mich. Liquor Control Comm’n*, 23 F.3d 1071, 1079 (6th Cir. 1994).

When considered alongside the constitutional injuries and harms discussed above, and the questionable evidence supporting the Government’s national security motivations, the balance of equities and public interests justify granting the Plaintiffs’ TRO. *See Aziz*, 2017 WL 580855, at * 10. Nationwide relief is appropriate in light of the likelihood of success on the Establishment Clause claim.

CONCLUSION

Based on the foregoing, Plaintiffs’ Motion for TRO is hereby GRANTED.

TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER

It is hereby ADJUDGED, ORDERED, and DECREED that:

Defendants and all their respective officers, agents, servants, employees, and attorneys, and persons in active concert or participation with them, are hereby enjoined from enforcing or implementing Sections 2 and 6 of the Executive Order across the Nation. Enforcement of these provisions in all places, including the United States, at all United States borders and ports of entry, and in the issuance of visas is prohibited, pending further orders from this Court.

No security bond is required under Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 65(c).

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The Court declines to stay this ruling or hold it in abeyance should an emergency appeal of this order be filed.

Pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 65(b)(2), the Court intends to set an expedited hearing to determine whether this Temporary Restraining Order should be extended. The parties shall submit a stipulated briefing and hearing schedule for the Court's approval forthwith.

IT IS SO ORDERED.

Dated: March 15, 2017 at Honolulu, Hawai'i.




Derrick K. Watson
United States District Judge

State of Hawaii, et al. v. Trump, et al.; CV 17-00050 DKW-KSC; **ORDER GRANTING MOTION FOR TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER**

Presidential Documents

Title 3—

Executive Order 13769 of January 27, 2017

The President

Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), 8 U.S.C. 1101 *et seq.*, and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, and to protect the American people from terrorist attacks by foreign nationals admitted to the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Purpose. The visa-issuance process plays a crucial role in detecting individuals with terrorist ties and stopping them from entering the United States. Perhaps in no instance was that more apparent than the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, when State Department policy prevented consular officers from properly scrutinizing the visa applications of several of the 19 foreign nationals who went on to murder nearly 3,000 Americans. And while the visa-issuance process was reviewed and amended after the September 11 attacks to better detect would-be terrorists from receiving visas, these measures did not stop attacks by foreign nationals who were admitted to the United States.

Numerous foreign-born individuals have been convicted or implicated in terrorism-related crimes since September 11, 2001, including foreign nationals who entered the United States after receiving visitor, student, or employment visas, or who entered through the United States refugee resettlement program. Deteriorating conditions in certain countries due to war, strife, disaster, and civil unrest increase the likelihood that terrorists will use any means possible to enter the United States. The United States must be vigilant during the visa-issuance process to ensure that those approved for admission do not intend to harm Americans and that they have no ties to terrorism.

In order to protect Americans, the United States must ensure that those admitted to this country do not bear hostile attitudes toward it and its founding principles. The United States cannot, and should not, admit those who do not support the Constitution, or those who would place violent ideologies over American law. In addition, the United States should not admit those who engage in acts of bigotry or hatred (including “honor” killings, other forms of violence against women, or the persecution of those who practice religions different from their own) or those who would oppress Americans of any race, gender, or sexual orientation.

Sec. 2. Policy. It is the policy of the United States to protect its citizens from foreign nationals who intend to commit terrorist attacks in the United States; and to prevent the admission of foreign nationals who intend to exploit United States immigration laws for malevolent purposes.

Sec. 3. Suspension of Issuance of Visas and Other Immigration Benefits to Nationals of Countries of Particular Concern. (a) The Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Director of National Intelligence, shall immediately conduct a review to determine the information needed from any country to adjudicate any visa, admission, or other benefit under the INA (adjudications) in order to determine that the individual seeking the benefit is who the individual claims to be and is not a security or public-safety threat.

(b) The Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Director of National Intelligence, shall submit to the President

a report on the results of the review described in subsection (a) of this section, including the Secretary of Homeland Security's determination of the information needed for adjudications and a list of countries that do not provide adequate information, within 30 days of the date of this order. The Secretary of Homeland Security shall provide a copy of the report to the Secretary of State and the Director of National Intelligence.

(c) To temporarily reduce investigative burdens on relevant agencies during the review period described in subsection (a) of this section, to ensure the proper review and maximum utilization of available resources for the screening of foreign nationals, and to ensure that adequate standards are established to prevent infiltration by foreign terrorists or criminals, pursuant to section 212(f) of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1182(f), I hereby proclaim that the immigrant and nonimmigrant entry into the United States of aliens from countries referred to in section 217(a)(12) of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1187(a)(12), would be detrimental to the interests of the United States, and I hereby suspend entry into the United States, as immigrants and nonimmigrants, of such persons for 90 days from the date of this order (excluding those foreign nationals traveling on diplomatic visas, North Atlantic Treaty Organization visas, C-2 visas for travel to the United Nations, and G-1, G-2, G-3, and G-4 visas).

(d) Immediately upon receipt of the report described in subsection (b) of this section regarding the information needed for adjudications, the Secretary of State shall request all foreign governments that do not supply such information to start providing such information regarding their nationals within 60 days of notification.

(e) After the 60-day period described in subsection (d) of this section expires, the Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of State, shall submit to the President a list of countries recommended for inclusion on a Presidential proclamation that would prohibit the entry of foreign nationals (excluding those foreign nationals traveling on diplomatic visas, North Atlantic Treaty Organization visas, C-2 visas for travel to the United Nations, and G-1, G-2, G-3, and G-4 visas) from countries that do not provide the information requested pursuant to subsection (d) of this section until compliance occurs.

(f) At any point after submitting the list described in subsection (e) of this section, the Secretary of State or the Secretary of Homeland Security may submit to the President the names of any additional countries recommended for similar treatment.

(g) Notwithstanding a suspension pursuant to subsection (c) of this section or pursuant to a Presidential proclamation described in subsection (e) of this section, the Secretaries of State and Homeland Security may, on a case-by-case basis, and when in the national interest, issue visas or other immigration benefits to nationals of countries for which visas and benefits are otherwise blocked.

(h) The Secretaries of State and Homeland Security shall submit to the President a joint report on the progress in implementing this order within 30 days of the date of this order, a second report within 60 days of the date of this order, a third report within 90 days of the date of this order, and a fourth report within 120 days of the date of this order.

Sec. 4. *Implementing Uniform Screening Standards for All Immigration Programs.* (a) The Secretary of State, the Secretary of Homeland Security, the Director of National Intelligence, and the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation shall implement a program, as part of the adjudication process for immigration benefits, to identify individuals seeking to enter the United States on a fraudulent basis with the intent to cause harm, or who are at risk of causing harm subsequent to their admission. This program will include the development of a uniform screening standard and procedure, such as in-person interviews; a database of identity documents proffered by applicants to ensure that duplicate documents are not

used by multiple applicants; amended application forms that include questions aimed at identifying fraudulent answers and malicious intent; a mechanism to ensure that the applicant is who the applicant claims to be; a process to evaluate the applicant's likelihood of becoming a positively contributing member of society and the applicant's ability to make contributions to the national interest; and a mechanism to assess whether or not the applicant has the intent to commit criminal or terrorist acts after entering the United States.

(b) The Secretary of Homeland Security, in conjunction with the Secretary of State, the Director of National Intelligence, and the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, shall submit to the President an initial report on the progress of this directive within 60 days of the date of this order, a second report within 100 days of the date of this order, and a third report within 200 days of the date of this order.

Sec. 5. *Realignment of the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program for Fiscal Year 2017.* (a) The Secretary of State shall suspend the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP) for 120 days. During the 120-day period, the Secretary of State, in conjunction with the Secretary of Homeland Security and in consultation with the Director of National Intelligence, shall review the USRAP application and adjudication process to determine what additional procedures should be taken to ensure that those approved for refugee admission do not pose a threat to the security and welfare of the United States, and shall implement such additional procedures. Refugee applicants who are already in the USRAP process may be admitted upon the initiation and completion of these revised procedures. Upon the date that is 120 days after the date of this order, the Secretary of State shall resume USRAP admissions only for nationals of countries for which the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Homeland Security, and the Director of National Intelligence have jointly determined that such additional procedures are adequate to ensure the security and welfare of the United States.

(b) Upon the resumption of USRAP admissions, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Homeland Security, is further directed to make changes, to the extent permitted by law, to prioritize refugee claims made by individuals on the basis of religious-based persecution, provided that the religion of the individual is a minority religion in the individual's country of nationality. Where necessary and appropriate, the Secretaries of State and Homeland Security shall recommend legislation to the President that would assist with such prioritization.

(c) Pursuant to section 212(f) of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1182(f), I hereby proclaim that the entry of nationals of Syria as refugees is detrimental to the interests of the United States and thus suspend any such entry until such time as I have determined that sufficient changes have been made to the USRAP to ensure that admission of Syrian refugees is consistent with the national interest.

(d) Pursuant to section 212(f) of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1182(f), I hereby proclaim that the entry of more than 50,000 refugees in fiscal year 2017 would be detrimental to the interests of the United States, and thus suspend any such entry until such time as I determine that additional admissions would be in the national interest.

(e) Notwithstanding the temporary suspension imposed pursuant to subsection (a) of this section, the Secretaries of State and Homeland Security may jointly determine to admit individuals to the United States as refugees on a case-by-case basis, in their discretion, but only so long as they determine that the admission of such individuals as refugees is in the national interest—including when the person is a religious minority in his country of nationality facing religious persecution, when admitting the person would enable the United States to conform its conduct to a preexisting international agreement, or when the person is already in transit and denying admission would cause undue hardship—and it would not pose a risk to the security or welfare of the United States.

(f) The Secretary of State shall submit to the President an initial report on the progress of the directive in subsection (b) of this section regarding prioritization of claims made by individuals on the basis of religious-based persecution within 100 days of the date of this order and shall submit a second report within 200 days of the date of this order.

(g) It is the policy of the executive branch that, to the extent permitted by law and as practicable, State and local jurisdictions be granted a role in the process of determining the placement or settlement in their jurisdictions of aliens eligible to be admitted to the United States as refugees. To that end, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall examine existing law to determine the extent to which, consistent with applicable law, State and local jurisdictions may have greater involvement in the process of determining the placement or resettlement of refugees in their jurisdictions, and shall devise a proposal to lawfully promote such involvement.

Sec. 6. *Rescission of Exercise of Authority Relating to the Terrorism Grounds of Inadmissibility.* The Secretaries of State and Homeland Security shall, in consultation with the Attorney General, consider rescinding the exercises of authority in section 212 of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1182, relating to the terrorism grounds of inadmissibility, as well as any related implementing memoranda.

Sec. 7. *Expedited Completion of the Biometric Entry-Exit Tracking System.*

(a) The Secretary of Homeland Security shall expedite the completion and implementation of a biometric entry-exit tracking system for all travelers to the United States, as recommended by the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States.

(b) The Secretary of Homeland Security shall submit to the President periodic reports on the progress of the directive contained in subsection (a) of this section. The initial report shall be submitted within 100 days of the date of this order, a second report shall be submitted within 200 days of the date of this order, and a third report shall be submitted within 365 days of the date of this order. Further, the Secretary shall submit a report every 180 days thereafter until the system is fully deployed and operational.

Sec. 8. *Visa Interview Security.* (a) The Secretary of State shall immediately suspend the Visa Interview Waiver Program and ensure compliance with section 222 of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1202, which requires that all individuals seeking a nonimmigrant visa undergo an in-person interview, subject to specific statutory exceptions.

(b) To the extent permitted by law and subject to the availability of appropriations, the Secretary of State shall immediately expand the Consular Fellows Program, including by substantially increasing the number of Fellows, lengthening or making permanent the period of service, and making language training at the Foreign Service Institute available to Fellows for assignment to posts outside of their area of core linguistic ability, to ensure that non-immigrant visa-interview wait times are not unduly affected.

Sec. 9. *Visa Validity Reciprocity.* The Secretary of State shall review all nonimmigrant visa reciprocity agreements to ensure that they are, with respect to each visa classification, truly reciprocal insofar as practicable with respect to validity period and fees, as required by sections 221(c) and 281 of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1201(c) and 1351, and other treatment. If a country does not treat United States nationals seeking nonimmigrant visas in a reciprocal manner, the Secretary of State shall adjust the visa validity period, fee schedule, or other treatment to match the treatment of United States nationals by the foreign country, to the extent practicable.

Sec. 10. *Transparency and Data Collection.* (a) To be more transparent with the American people, and to more effectively implement policies and practices that serve the national interest, the Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Attorney General, shall, consistent with applicable law and national security, collect and make publicly available within 180 days, and every 180 days thereafter:

(i) information regarding the number of foreign nationals in the United States who have been charged with terrorism-related offenses while in the United States; convicted of terrorism-related offenses while in the United States; or removed from the United States based on terrorism-related activity, affiliation, or material support to a terrorism-related organization, or any other national security reasons since the date of this order or the last reporting period, whichever is later;

(ii) information regarding the number of foreign nationals in the United States who have been radicalized after entry into the United States and engaged in terrorism-related acts, or who have provided material support to terrorism-related organizations in countries that pose a threat to the United States, since the date of this order or the last reporting period, whichever is later; and

(iii) information regarding the number and types of acts of gender-based violence against women, including honor killings, in the United States by foreign nationals, since the date of this order or the last reporting period, whichever is later; and

(iv) any other information relevant to public safety and security as determined by the Secretary of Homeland Security and the Attorney General, including information on the immigration status of foreign nationals charged with major offenses.

(b) The Secretary of State shall, within one year of the date of this order, provide a report on the estimated long-term costs of the USRAP at the Federal, State, and local levels.

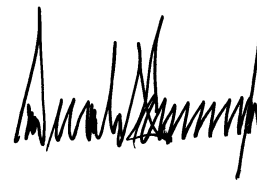
Sec. 11. General Provisions. (a) Nothing in this order shall be construed to impair or otherwise affect:

(i) the authority granted by law to an executive department or agency, or the head thereof; or

(ii) the functions of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget relating to budgetary, administrative, or legislative proposals.

(b) This order shall be implemented consistent with applicable law and subject to the availability of appropriations.

(c) This order is not intended to, and does not, create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or in equity by any party against the United States, its departments, agencies, or entities, its officers, employees, or agents, or any other person.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 27, 2017.

Presidential Documents

Title 3—

Executive Order 13780 of March 6, 2017

The President

Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), 8 U.S.C. 1101 *et seq.*, and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, and to protect the Nation from terrorist activities by foreign nationals admitted to the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Policy and Purpose. (a) It is the policy of the United States to protect its citizens from terrorist attacks, including those committed by foreign nationals. The screening and vetting protocols and procedures associated with the visa-issuance process and the United States Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP) play a crucial role in detecting foreign nationals who may commit, aid, or support acts of terrorism and in preventing those individuals from entering the United States. It is therefore the policy of the United States to improve the screening and vetting protocols and procedures associated with the visa-issuance process and the USRAP.

(b) On January 27, 2017, to implement this policy, I issued Executive Order 13769 (Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States).

(i) Among other actions, Executive Order 13769 suspended for 90 days the entry of certain aliens from seven countries: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. These are countries that had already been identified as presenting heightened concerns about terrorism and travel to the United States. Specifically, the suspension applied to countries referred to in, or designated under, section 217(a)(12) of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1187(a)(12), in which Congress restricted use of the Visa Waiver Program for nationals of, and aliens recently present in, (A) Iraq or Syria, (B) any country designated by the Secretary of State as a state sponsor of terrorism (currently Iran, Syria, and Sudan), and (C) any other country designated as a country of concern by the Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Director of National Intelligence. In 2016, the Secretary of Homeland Security designated Libya, Somalia, and Yemen as additional countries of concern for travel purposes, based on consideration of three statutory factors related to terrorism and national security: “(I) whether the presence of an alien in the country or area increases the likelihood that the alien is a credible threat to the national security of the United States; (II) whether a foreign terrorist organization has a significant presence in the country or area; and (III) whether the country or area is a safe haven for terrorists.” 8 U.S.C. 1187(a)(12)(D)(ii). Additionally, Members of Congress have expressed concerns about screening and vetting procedures following recent terrorist attacks in this country and in Europe.

(ii) In ordering the temporary suspension of entry described in subsection (b)(i) of this section, I exercised my authority under Article II of the Constitution and under section 212(f) of the INA, which provides in relevant part: “Whenever the President finds that the entry of any aliens or of any class of aliens into the United States would be detrimental to the interests of the United States, he may by proclamation, and for such period as he shall deem necessary, suspend the entry of all aliens or any class of aliens as immigrants or nonimmigrants, or impose on the entry of aliens any restrictions he may deem to be appropriate.”

8 U.S.C. 1182(f). Under these authorities, I determined that, for a brief period of 90 days, while existing screening and vetting procedures were under review, the entry into the United States of certain aliens from the seven identified countries—each afflicted by terrorism in a manner that compromised the ability of the United States to rely on normal decision-making procedures about travel to the United States—would be detrimental to the interests of the United States. Nonetheless, I permitted the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Homeland Security to grant case-by-case waivers when they determined that it was in the national interest to do so.

(iii) Executive Order 13769 also suspended the USRAP for 120 days. Terrorist groups have sought to infiltrate several nations through refugee programs. Accordingly, I temporarily suspended the USRAP pending a review of our procedures for screening and vetting refugees. Nonetheless, I permitted the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Homeland Security to jointly grant case-by-case waivers when they determined that it was in the national interest to do so.

(iv) Executive Order 13769 did not provide a basis for discriminating for or against members of any particular religion. While that order allowed for prioritization of refugee claims from members of persecuted religious minority groups, that priority applied to refugees from every nation, including those in which Islam is a minority religion, and it applied to minority sects within a religion. That order was not motivated by animus toward any religion, but was instead intended to protect the ability of religious minorities—whoever they are and wherever they reside—to avail themselves of the USRAP in light of their particular challenges and circumstances.

(c) The implementation of Executive Order 13769 has been delayed by litigation. Most significantly, enforcement of critical provisions of that order has been temporarily halted by court orders that apply nationwide and extend even to foreign nationals with no prior or substantial connection to the United States. On February 9, 2017, the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit declined to stay or narrow one such order pending the outcome of further judicial proceedings, while noting that the “political branches are far better equipped to make appropriate distinctions” about who should be covered by a suspension of entry or of refugee admissions.

(d) Nationals from the countries previously identified under section 217(a)(12) of the INA warrant additional scrutiny in connection with our immigration policies because the conditions in these countries present heightened threats. Each of these countries is a state sponsor of terrorism, has been significantly compromised by terrorist organizations, or contains active conflict zones. Any of these circumstances diminishes the foreign government’s willingness or ability to share or validate important information about individuals seeking to travel to the United States. Moreover, the significant presence in each of these countries of terrorist organizations, their members, and others exposed to those organizations increases the chance that conditions will be exploited to enable terrorist operatives or sympathizers to travel to the United States. Finally, once foreign nationals from these countries are admitted to the United States, it is often difficult to remove them, because many of these countries typically delay issuing, or refuse to issue, travel documents.

(e) The following are brief descriptions, taken in part from the Department of State’s *Country Reports on Terrorism 2015* (June 2016), of some of the conditions in six of the previously designated countries that demonstrate why their nationals continue to present heightened risks to the security of the United States:

(i) *Iran*. Iran has been designated as a state sponsor of terrorism since 1984 and continues to support various terrorist groups, including Hizballah, Hamas, and terrorist groups in Iraq. Iran has also been linked to support

for al-Qa'ida and has permitted al-Qa'ida to transport funds and fighters through Iran to Syria and South Asia. Iran does not cooperate with the United States in counterterrorism efforts.

(ii) *Libya*. Libya is an active combat zone, with hostilities between the internationally recognized government and its rivals. In many parts of the country, security and law enforcement functions are provided by armed militias rather than state institutions. Violent extremist groups, including the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), have exploited these conditions to expand their presence in the country. The Libyan government provides some cooperation with the United States' counterterrorism efforts, but it is unable to secure thousands of miles of its land and maritime borders, enabling the illicit flow of weapons, migrants, and foreign terrorist fighters. The United States Embassy in Libya suspended its operations in 2014.

(iii) *Somalia*. Portions of Somalia have been terrorist safe havens. Al-Shabaab, an al-Qa'ida-affiliated terrorist group, has operated in the country for years and continues to plan and mount operations within Somalia and in neighboring countries. Somalia has porous borders, and most countries do not recognize Somali identity documents. The Somali government cooperates with the United States in some counterterrorism operations but does not have the capacity to sustain military pressure on or to investigate suspected terrorists.

(iv) *Sudan*. Sudan has been designated as a state sponsor of terrorism since 1993 because of its support for international terrorist groups, including Hizballah and Hamas. Historically, Sudan provided safe havens for al-Qa'ida and other terrorist groups to meet and train. Although Sudan's support to al-Qa'ida has ceased and it provides some cooperation with the United States' counterterrorism efforts, elements of core al-Qa'ida and ISIS-linked terrorist groups remain active in the country.

(v) *Syria*. Syria has been designated as a state sponsor of terrorism since 1979. The Syrian government is engaged in an ongoing military conflict against ISIS and others for control of portions of the country. At the same time, Syria continues to support other terrorist groups. It has allowed or encouraged extremists to pass through its territory to enter Iraq. ISIS continues to attract foreign fighters to Syria and to use its base in Syria to plot or encourage attacks around the globe, including in the United States. The United States Embassy in Syria suspended its operations in 2012. Syria does not cooperate with the United States' counterterrorism efforts.

(vi) *Yemen*. Yemen is the site of an ongoing conflict between the incumbent government and the Houthi-led opposition. Both ISIS and a second group, al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), have exploited this conflict to expand their presence in Yemen and to carry out hundreds of attacks. Weapons and other materials smuggled across Yemen's porous borders are used to finance AQAP and other terrorist activities. In 2015, the United States Embassy in Yemen suspended its operations, and embassy staff were relocated out of the country. Yemen has been supportive of, but has not been able to cooperate fully with, the United States in counterterrorism efforts.

(f) In light of the conditions in these six countries, until the assessment of current screening and vetting procedures required by section 2 of this order is completed, the risk of erroneously permitting entry of a national of one of these countries who intends to commit terrorist acts or otherwise harm the national security of the United States is unacceptably high. Accordingly, while that assessment is ongoing, I am imposing a temporary pause on the entry of nationals from Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen, subject to categorical exceptions and case-by-case waivers, as described in section 3 of this order.

(g) Iraq presents a special case. Portions of Iraq remain active combat zones. Since 2014, ISIS has had dominant influence over significant territory in northern and central Iraq. Although that influence has been significantly

reduced due to the efforts and sacrifices of the Iraqi government and armed forces, working along with a United States-led coalition, the ongoing conflict has impacted the Iraqi government's capacity to secure its borders and to identify fraudulent travel documents. Nevertheless, the close cooperative relationship between the United States and the democratically elected Iraqi government, the strong United States diplomatic presence in Iraq, the significant presence of United States forces in Iraq, and Iraq's commitment to combat ISIS justify different treatment for Iraq. In particular, those Iraqi government forces that have fought to regain more than half of the territory previously dominated by ISIS have shown steadfast determination and earned enduring respect as they battle an armed group that is the common enemy of Iraq and the United States. In addition, since Executive Order 13769 was issued, the Iraqi government has expressly undertaken steps to enhance travel documentation, information sharing, and the return of Iraqi nationals subject to final orders of removal. Decisions about issuance of visas or granting admission to Iraqi nationals should be subjected to additional scrutiny to determine if applicants have connections with ISIS or other terrorist organizations, or otherwise pose a risk to either national security or public safety.

(h) Recent history shows that some of those who have entered the United States through our immigration system have proved to be threats to our national security. Since 2001, hundreds of persons born abroad have been convicted of terrorism-related crimes in the United States. They have included not just persons who came here legally on visas but also individuals who first entered the country as refugees. For example, in January 2013, two Iraqi nationals admitted to the United States as refugees in 2009 were sentenced to 40 years and to life in prison, respectively, for multiple terrorism-related offenses. And in October 2014, a native of Somalia who had been brought to the United States as a child refugee and later became a naturalized United States citizen was sentenced to 30 years in prison for attempting to use a weapon of mass destruction as part of a plot to detonate a bomb at a crowded Christmas-tree-lighting ceremony in Portland, Oregon. The Attorney General has reported to me that more than 300 persons who entered the United States as refugees are currently the subjects of counterterrorism investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

(i) Given the foregoing, the entry into the United States of foreign nationals who may commit, aid, or support acts of terrorism remains a matter of grave concern. In light of the Ninth Circuit's observation that the political branches are better suited to determine the appropriate scope of any suspensions than are the courts, and in order to avoid spending additional time pursuing litigation, I am revoking Executive Order 13769 and replacing it with this order, which expressly excludes from the suspensions categories of aliens that have prompted judicial concerns and which clarifies or refines the approach to certain other issues or categories of affected aliens.

Sec. 2. *Temporary Suspension of Entry for Nationals of Countries of Particular Concern During Review Period.* (a) The Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Director of National Intelligence, shall conduct a worldwide review to identify whether, and if so what, additional information will be needed from each foreign country to adjudicate an application by a national of that country for a visa, admission, or other benefit under the INA (adjudications) in order to determine that the individual is not a security or public-safety threat. The Secretary of Homeland Security may conclude that certain information is needed from particular countries even if it is not needed from every country.

(b) The Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Director of National Intelligence, shall submit to the President a report on the results of the worldwide review described in subsection (a) of this section, including the Secretary of Homeland Security's determination of the information needed from each country for adjudications and a list of countries that do not provide adequate information, within 20 days of the effective date of this order. The Secretary of Homeland Security

shall provide a copy of the report to the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the Director of National Intelligence.

(c) To temporarily reduce investigative burdens on relevant agencies during the review period described in subsection (a) of this section, to ensure the proper review and maximum utilization of available resources for the screening and vetting of foreign nationals, to ensure that adequate standards are established to prevent infiltration by foreign terrorists, and in light of the national security concerns referenced in section 1 of this order, I hereby proclaim, pursuant to sections 212(f) and 215(a) of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1182(f) and 1185(a), that the unrestricted entry into the United States of nationals of Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen would be detrimental to the interests of the United States. I therefore direct that the entry into the United States of nationals of those six countries be suspended for 90 days from the effective date of this order, subject to the limitations, waivers, and exceptions set forth in sections 3 and 12 of this order.

(d) Upon submission of the report described in subsection (b) of this section regarding the information needed from each country for adjudications, the Secretary of State shall request that all foreign governments that do not supply such information regarding their nationals begin providing it within 50 days of notification.

(e) After the period described in subsection (d) of this section expires, the Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Attorney General, shall submit to the President a list of countries recommended for inclusion in a Presidential proclamation that would prohibit the entry of appropriate categories of foreign nationals of countries that have not provided the information requested until they do so or until the Secretary of Homeland Security certifies that the country has an adequate plan to do so, or has adequately shared information through other means. The Secretary of State, the Attorney General, or the Secretary of Homeland Security may also submit to the President the names of additional countries for which any of them recommends other lawful restrictions or limitations deemed necessary for the security or welfare of the United States.

(f) At any point after the submission of the list described in subsection (e) of this section, the Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Attorney General, may submit to the President the names of any additional countries recommended for similar treatment, as well as the names of any countries that they recommend should be removed from the scope of a proclamation described in subsection (e) of this section.

(g) The Secretary of State and the Secretary of Homeland Security shall submit to the President a joint report on the progress in implementing this order within 60 days of the effective date of this order, a second report within 90 days of the effective date of this order, a third report within 120 days of the effective date of this order, and a fourth report within 150 days of the effective date of this order.

Sec. 3. Scope and Implementation of Suspension.

(a) *Scope.* Subject to the exceptions set forth in subsection (b) of this section and any waiver under subsection (c) of this section, the suspension of entry pursuant to section 2 of this order shall apply only to foreign nationals of the designated countries who:

(i) are outside the United States on the effective date of this order;

(ii) did not have a valid visa at 5:00 p.m., eastern standard time on January 27, 2017; and

(iii) do not have a valid visa on the effective date of this order.

(b) *Exceptions.* The suspension of entry pursuant to section 2 of this order shall not apply to:

(i) any lawful permanent resident of the United States;

(ii) any foreign national who is admitted to or paroled into the United States on or after the effective date of this order;

(iii) any foreign national who has a document other than a visa, valid on the effective date of this order or issued on any date thereafter, that permits him or her to travel to the United States and seek entry or admission, such as an advance parole document;

(iv) any dual national of a country designated under section 2 of this order when the individual is traveling on a passport issued by a non-designated country;

(v) any foreign national traveling on a diplomatic or diplomatic-type visa, North Atlantic Treaty Organization visa, C-2 visa for travel to the United Nations, or G-1, G-2, G-3, or G-4 visa; or

(vi) any foreign national who has been granted asylum; any refugee who has already been admitted to the United States; or any individual who has been granted withholding of removal, advance parole, or protection under the Convention Against Torture.

(c) *Waivers.* Notwithstanding the suspension of entry pursuant to section 2 of this order, a consular officer, or, as appropriate, the Commissioner, U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), or the Commissioner's delegate, may, in the consular officer's or the CBP official's discretion, decide on a case-by-case basis to authorize the issuance of a visa to, or to permit the entry of, a foreign national for whom entry is otherwise suspended if the foreign national has demonstrated to the officer's satisfaction that denying entry during the suspension period would cause undue hardship, and that his or her entry would not pose a threat to national security and would be in the national interest. Unless otherwise specified by the Secretary of Homeland Security, any waiver issued by a consular officer as part of the visa issuance process will be effective both for the issuance of a visa and any subsequent entry on that visa, but will leave all other requirements for admission or entry unchanged. Case-by-case waivers could be appropriate in circumstances such as the following:

(i) the foreign national has previously been admitted to the United States for a continuous period of work, study, or other long-term activity, is outside the United States on the effective date of this order, seeks to reenter the United States to resume that activity, and the denial of reentry during the suspension period would impair that activity;

(ii) the foreign national has previously established significant contacts with the United States but is outside the United States on the effective date of this order for work, study, or other lawful activity;

(iii) the foreign national seeks to enter the United States for significant business or professional obligations and the denial of entry during the suspension period would impair those obligations;

(iv) the foreign national seeks to enter the United States to visit or reside with a close family member (e.g., a spouse, child, or parent) who is a United States citizen, lawful permanent resident, or alien lawfully admitted on a valid nonimmigrant visa, and the denial of entry during the suspension period would cause undue hardship;

(v) the foreign national is an infant, a young child or adoptee, an individual needing urgent medical care, or someone whose entry is otherwise justified by the special circumstances of the case;

(vi) the foreign national has been employed by, or on behalf of, the United States Government (or is an eligible dependent of such an employee) and the employee can document that he or she has provided faithful and valuable service to the United States Government;

(vii) the foreign national is traveling for purposes related to an international organization designated under the International Organizations Immunities Act (IOIA), 22 U.S.C. 288 *et seq.*, traveling for purposes of conducting meetings or business with the United States Government, or traveling

to conduct business on behalf of an international organization not designated under the IOIA;

(viii) the foreign national is a landed Canadian immigrant who applies for a visa at a location within Canada; or

(ix) the foreign national is traveling as a United States Government-sponsored exchange visitor.

Sec. 4. *Additional Inquiries Related to Nationals of Iraq.* An application by any Iraqi national for a visa, admission, or other immigration benefit should be subjected to thorough review, including, as appropriate, consultation with a designee of the Secretary of Defense and use of the additional information that has been obtained in the context of the close U.S.-Iraqi security partnership, since Executive Order 13769 was issued, concerning individuals suspected of ties to ISIS or other terrorist organizations and individuals coming from territories controlled or formerly controlled by ISIS. Such review shall include consideration of whether the applicant has connections with ISIS or other terrorist organizations or with territory that is or has been under the dominant influence of ISIS, as well as any other information bearing on whether the applicant may be a threat to commit acts of terrorism or otherwise threaten the national security or public safety of the United States.

Sec. 5. *Implementing Uniform Screening and Vetting Standards for All Immigration Programs.* (a) The Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Homeland Security, and the Director of National Intelligence shall implement a program, as part of the process for adjudications, to identify individuals who seek to enter the United States on a fraudulent basis, who support terrorism, violent extremism, acts of violence toward any group or class of people within the United States, or who present a risk of causing harm subsequent to their entry. This program shall include the development of a uniform baseline for screening and vetting standards and procedures, such as in-person interviews; a database of identity documents proffered by applicants to ensure that duplicate documents are not used by multiple applicants; amended application forms that include questions aimed at identifying fraudulent answers and malicious intent; a mechanism to ensure that applicants are who they claim to be; a mechanism to assess whether applicants may commit, aid, or support any kind of violent, criminal, or terrorist acts after entering the United States; and any other appropriate means for ensuring the proper collection of all information necessary for a rigorous evaluation of all grounds of inadmissibility or grounds for the denial of other immigration benefits.

(b) The Secretary of Homeland Security, in conjunction with the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the Director of National Intelligence, shall submit to the President an initial report on the progress of the program described in subsection (a) of this section within 60 days of the effective date of this order, a second report within 100 days of the effective date of this order, and a third report within 200 days of the effective date of this order.

Sec. 6. *Realignment of the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program for Fiscal Year 2017.* (a) The Secretary of State shall suspend travel of refugees into the United States under the USRAP, and the Secretary of Homeland Security shall suspend decisions on applications for refugee status, for 120 days after the effective date of this order, subject to waivers pursuant to subsection (c) of this section. During the 120-day period, the Secretary of State, in conjunction with the Secretary of Homeland Security and in consultation with the Director of National Intelligence, shall review the USRAP application and adjudication processes to determine what additional procedures should be used to ensure that individuals seeking admission as refugees do not pose a threat to the security and welfare of the United States, and shall implement such additional procedures. The suspension described in this subsection shall not apply to refugee applicants who, before the effective date of this order, have been formally scheduled for transit by the Department of State. The Secretary of State shall resume travel of refugees into the

United States under the USRAP 120 days after the effective date of this order, and the Secretary of Homeland Security shall resume making decisions on applications for refugee status only for stateless persons and nationals of countries for which the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Homeland Security, and the Director of National Intelligence have jointly determined that the additional procedures implemented pursuant to this subsection are adequate to ensure the security and welfare of the United States.

(b) Pursuant to section 212(f) of the INA, I hereby proclaim that the entry of more than 50,000 refugees in fiscal year 2017 would be detrimental to the interests of the United States, and thus suspend any entries in excess of that number until such time as I determine that additional entries would be in the national interest.

(c) Notwithstanding the temporary suspension imposed pursuant to subsection (a) of this section, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Homeland Security may jointly determine to admit individuals to the United States as refugees on a case-by-case basis, in their discretion, but only so long as they determine that the entry of such individuals as refugees is in the national interest and does not pose a threat to the security or welfare of the United States, including in circumstances such as the following: the individual's entry would enable the United States to conform its conduct to a preexisting international agreement or arrangement, or the denial of entry would cause undue hardship.

(d) It is the policy of the executive branch that, to the extent permitted by law and as practicable, State and local jurisdictions be granted a role in the process of determining the placement or settlement in their jurisdictions of aliens eligible to be admitted to the United States as refugees. To that end, the Secretary of State shall examine existing law to determine the extent to which, consistent with applicable law, State and local jurisdictions may have greater involvement in the process of determining the placement or resettlement of refugees in their jurisdictions, and shall devise a proposal to lawfully promote such involvement.

Sec. 7. *Rescission of Exercise of Authority Relating to the Terrorism Grounds of Inadmissibility.* The Secretary of State and the Secretary of Homeland Security shall, in consultation with the Attorney General, consider rescinding the exercises of authority permitted by section 212(d)(3)(B) of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1182(d)(3)(B), relating to the terrorism grounds of inadmissibility, as well as any related implementing directives or guidance.

Sec. 8. *Expedited Completion of the Biometric Entry-Exit Tracking System.* (a) The Secretary of Homeland Security shall expedite the completion and implementation of a biometric entry-exit tracking system for in-scope travelers to the United States, as recommended by the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States.

(b) The Secretary of Homeland Security shall submit to the President periodic reports on the progress of the directive set forth in subsection (a) of this section. The initial report shall be submitted within 100 days of the effective date of this order, a second report shall be submitted within 200 days of the effective date of this order, and a third report shall be submitted within 365 days of the effective date of this order. The Secretary of Homeland Security shall submit further reports every 180 days thereafter until the system is fully deployed and operational.

Sec. 9. *Visa Interview Security.* (a) The Secretary of State shall immediately suspend the Visa Interview Waiver Program and ensure compliance with section 222 of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1202, which requires that all individuals seeking a nonimmigrant visa undergo an in-person interview, subject to specific statutory exceptions. This suspension shall not apply to any foreign national traveling on a diplomatic or diplomatic-type visa, North Atlantic Treaty Organization visa, C-2 visa for travel to the United Nations, or G-1, G-2, G-3, or G-4 visa; traveling for purposes related to an international organization designated under the IOIA; or traveling for purposes of conducting meetings or business with the United States Government.

(b) To the extent permitted by law and subject to the availability of appropriations, the Secretary of State shall immediately expand the Consular Fellows Program, including by substantially increasing the number of Fellows, lengthening or making permanent the period of service, and making language training at the Foreign Service Institute available to Fellows for assignment to posts outside of their area of core linguistic ability, to ensure that nonimmigrant visa-interview wait times are not unduly affected.

Sec. 10. *Visa Validity Reciprocity.* The Secretary of State shall review all nonimmigrant visa reciprocity agreements and arrangements to ensure that they are, with respect to each visa classification, truly reciprocal insofar as practicable with respect to validity period and fees, as required by sections 221(c) and 281 of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1201(c) and 1351, and other treatment. If another country does not treat United States nationals seeking nonimmigrant visas in a truly reciprocal manner, the Secretary of State shall adjust the visa validity period, fee schedule, or other treatment to match the treatment of United States nationals by that foreign country, to the extent practicable.

Sec. 11. *Transparency and Data Collection.* (a) To be more transparent with the American people and to implement more effectively policies and practices that serve the national interest, the Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Attorney General, shall, consistent with applicable law and national security, collect and make publicly available the following information:

(i) information regarding the number of foreign nationals in the United States who have been charged with terrorism-related offenses while in the United States; convicted of terrorism-related offenses while in the United States; or removed from the United States based on terrorism-related activity, affiliation with or provision of material support to a terrorism-related organization, or any other national-security-related reasons;

(ii) information regarding the number of foreign nationals in the United States who have been radicalized after entry into the United States and who have engaged in terrorism-related acts, or who have provided material support to terrorism-related organizations in countries that pose a threat to the United States;

(iii) information regarding the number and types of acts of gender-based violence against women, including so-called “honor killings,” in the United States by foreign nationals; and

(iv) any other information relevant to public safety and security as determined by the Secretary of Homeland Security or the Attorney General, including information on the immigration status of foreign nationals charged with major offenses.

(b) The Secretary of Homeland Security shall release the initial report under subsection (a) of this section within 180 days of the effective date of this order and shall include information for the period from September 11, 2001, until the date of the initial report. Subsequent reports shall be issued every 180 days thereafter and reflect the period since the previous report.

Sec. 12. *Enforcement.* (a) The Secretary of State and the Secretary of Homeland Security shall consult with appropriate domestic and international partners, including countries and organizations, to ensure efficient, effective, and appropriate implementation of the actions directed in this order.

(b) In implementing this order, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Homeland Security shall comply with all applicable laws and regulations, including, as appropriate, those providing an opportunity for individuals to claim a fear of persecution or torture, such as the credible fear determination for aliens covered by section 235(b)(1)(A) of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1225(b)(1)(A).

(c) No immigrant or nonimmigrant visa issued before the effective date of this order shall be revoked pursuant to this order.

(d) Any individual whose visa was marked revoked or marked canceled as a result of Executive Order 13769 shall be entitled to a travel document confirming that the individual is permitted to travel to the United States and seek entry. Any prior cancellation or revocation of a visa that was solely pursuant to Executive Order 13769 shall not be the basis of inadmissibility for any future determination about entry or admissibility.

(e) This order shall not apply to an individual who has been granted asylum, to a refugee who has already been admitted to the United States, or to an individual granted withholding of removal or protection under the Convention Against Torture. Nothing in this order shall be construed to limit the ability of an individual to seek asylum, withholding of removal, or protection under the Convention Against Torture, consistent with the laws of the United States.

Sec. 13. *Revocation.* Executive Order 13769 of January 27, 2017, is revoked as of the effective date of this order.

Sec. 14. *Effective Date.* This order is effective at 12:01 a.m., eastern daylight time on March 16, 2017.

Sec. 15. *Severability.* (a) If any provision of this order, or the application of any provision to any person or circumstance, is held to be invalid, the remainder of this order and the application of its other provisions to any other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

(b) If any provision of this order, or the application of any provision to any person or circumstance, is held to be invalid because of the lack of certain procedural requirements, the relevant executive branch officials shall implement those procedural requirements.

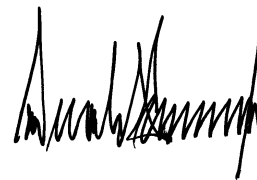
Sec. 16. *General Provisions.* (a) Nothing in this order shall be construed to impair or otherwise affect:

(i) the authority granted by law to an executive department or agency, or the head thereof; or

(ii) the functions of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget relating to budgetary, administrative, or legislative proposals.

(b) This order shall be implemented consistent with applicable law and subject to the availability of appropriations.

(c) This order is not intended to, and does not, create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or in equity by any party against the United States, its departments, agencies, or entities, its officers, employees, or agents, or any other person.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 6, 2017.